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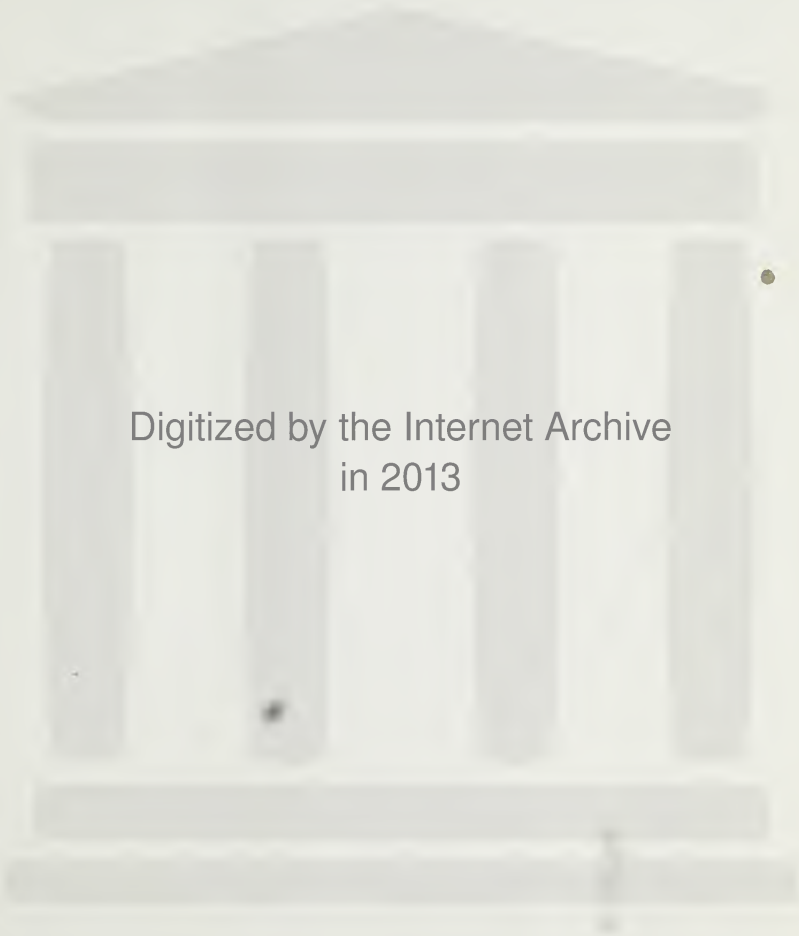
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THE

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Yours Truly,
M. Simpson

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1885.

ART. I.—BISHOP SIMPSON.

THE first century of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America began with the consecration and episcopal services of Francis Asbury, the typical Methodist Bishop; it closes and culminates in the useful and brilliant career of Matthew Simpson, than whom no man of his age has more sincerely served God and his race, or more highly honored the great office to which the suffrages of his brethren had called him. If our episcopacy had its root and stock in the sturdy Asbury, surely in the eloquent Simpson it found its full flower and fruit. It is doubtful if any other Bishop in dying has left the office more luminous or fragrant.

Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., was born at Cadiz, the county-seat of Harrison County, Ohio, on June 21, 1811, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., June 18, 1884. He was the son of James and Sarah Tingley Simpson. His father was a native of the north of Ireland, and was of Scotch-Irish descent. What English Puritans did for New England, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians did for many sections of our Middle and Southern States, and both were good stocks for Methodist grafting.

James Simpson, on arriving in this country, landed first at Baltimore, Md., and thence emigrated when a young man to south-eastern Ohio. Here he married Sarah Tingley (descended from a French-English family of New Jersey), who also emigrated to Ohio about the same time. Soon after Matthew's birth, Mr. Simpson removed with his family to Pittsburg, Pa. A year later the father died, and Mrs. Simpson, with her infant son, returned to Cadiz, and thenceforward

the training of young Simpson was under the guidance of his mother and of Mr. Matthew Simpson, the paternal uncle whose name he bore. The mother was a devout Christian woman, of plain dress and affable manners. She possessed strong native sense, associated with a vivacious temperament, and much of the *naïveté* peculiar to the French. Mr. Matthew Simpson was well qualified, as an educated Christian gentleman, to be the instructor and guardian of the boy. A close biblical student, reading the Scriptures in the original Greek and Hebrew, a school teacher, a representative man in his county, a constant and active member of the Methodist Church from his early youth, he was in all respects fitted to give bent to the mind of the future Bishop; and so the lad grew, under the fostering nurture of the mother's love and the uncle's wisdom. After receiving such academical training as Cadiz could afford, he was sent to Madison College, Pa., which had recently come under the patronage of the Pittsburg Annual Conference, and of which the Rev. H. B. Bascom, D.D., then in the height of his fame as a pulpit orator, was the president (1827–1829). The good uncle meant, no doubt, to be loyal to the new Methodist College; but likely he was equally drawn by the eloquent Bascom, who was now the pride and joy of all Methodists. Young Simpson's mind was fit tinder for the sparks which flashed from Bascom's blazing intellect.

Such was young Simpson's proficiency in his studies, that at the early age of eighteen years he was made tutor in the college. Having determined to become a physician, he returned to Ohio. There—it is not sure just where—he studied medicine, and had entered upon its practice when, under a powerful conviction of duty, he was led to change his course, and to accept license to preach as a Methodist local preacher. He was "received on trial" by the Pittsburg Conference in 1833, and appointed to the circuit where he lived. He was rapidly advanced to charges in Pittsburg and Monongahela cities. In 1837 Madison College was absorbed by Allegheny College, located at Meadville, Pa., in which he was elected vice-president and professor of natural philosophy and chemistry. In 1839 he was elected president of the new Indiana Asbury University (now De Pauw) at Greencastle, Ind. After remaining here nine years, laying deep and broad foundations for the

institution, he was elected by the General Conference of 1848 editor of the "Western Christian Advocate," and removed to Cincinnati. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1844 at New York, and also to that of 1848 at Pittsburg, and was again returned as a delegate to the General Conference of 1852 at Boston, by which body, on the twenty-fifth day of its session, he was elected to the office of Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was then within a few weeks of the completion of his forty-first year; being, with the exception of Bishop Janes, the youngest man ever elected to that office.

His subsequent residences were successively at Pittsburg, Pa., Evanston, Ill., and Philadelphia, Pa.; but according to Methodist law and usage he was a General Superintendent, a Bishop equally wherever the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church extended. He presided over the Annual and General Conferences in rotation with his associate Bishops, fixing the appointments of the preachers to their several charges of ministerial work, and also traveling abroad, as he was designated by his colleagues, into foreign countries, wherever the Church had established missions. In addition to his strictly official routine work must be reckoned his well-nigh countless sermons and addresses on ordinary and special occasions, his private conversations and counsels, his social and political interchanges of thought and courtesy. The record would fill many large volumes; and the least which we may expect, at a convenient opportunity, is one good volume, or more, which will embody in fair and just proportions his life-work.

The most that can be required in an article so brief as this is an attempt at determining somewhat the historical position of our great and good Bishop. But only an attempt; for it is yet too early to do more. We are still in the shadow of that moving, vital, well-nigh overpowering personality from which we cannot easily emerge, so as to be able to look at him calmly and clearly. A man at the foot of a great mountain must get away from its base far out upon the plain if he would measure its proportions. Should this Review notice fall into eulogy, it will be of a piece with every thing and every body who came into close contact with the man—his spell is upon the writer. Bishop Simpson was the most truly representative man and minister of American Methodism in the last half century. As

such he has not only impressed himself more strongly upon his times than any of his contemporaries, but his influence is destined to be more distinctive and controlling for succeeding generations than that of any one of them. And if the most truly representative minister of American Methodism, why not of the American Church? Modesty may, perhaps, forbid us to press this question; it is therefore only suggested. If, in the providence of God, our Methodist Bishop was brought to the front of the hosts of American Christians, and did more deeply impress their mind and shape their action than any other living minister, to God only be the glory. He was the common property of all believers in Christ. Certainly, as the foremost preacher and officer of the numerically largest Protestant denomination of the land—as a theologian of sound and evangelical belief—as a Christian of the most catholic spirit—as a citizen of the truest patriotism—as a philanthropist in warm and wide sympathy with all that concerns the welfare of his fellow-creatures—as a man of affairs always just and prudent—as one of the people touching them every-where by the magnetism of his presence—and as a preacher illumining, stirring, and charming all alike by the force of his ideas and his eloquence, to none did he stand second. What other man of all the Churches has so completely embodied all these attributes? Some may have been more profound and accurate theologians; others more varied and riper scholars; others, again, better informed and more active humanitarians; and still others of more original and pronounced ideas and better judges of law; and there may have been even those whose eloquence at times was more incisive and searching; yet who among them all united in such harmony all these qualities, any one of which is enough to make a man distinguished? If it is asked, Wherein lay his greatness? after possibly the mention of his oratory, first of all, one would be as liable to point to any one thing for which he was remarkable as to another.

But dismissing the question of his relative position in the Church at large, as Methodist Episcopalians probably there will be no dispute among us in conceding to him the highest niche in our ecclesiastical temple. We have known other men and ministers who excelled him in some one thing, and who may have had, owing to certain favoring conditions, more direct

influence personally in molding the opinions and shaping the conduct of men. It would be hard for the old students of Bascom, Olin, Durbin, M'Clintock, Thomson, and a few more who might be mentioned, to acknowledge the superior power of any man to these men, especially in the particular relations in which they were so intimately known; but when all is granted which is claimed for these, at some point they fall short of Simpson's influence. Either their gifts were less universal or their spheres were more limited. They may at some time have moved with equal brightness in their orbits, but not always so uniformly, and their rounds were more circumscribed.

The office of a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church affords grand opportunities for commanding moral and religious power. It cannot make a small man great, though even here men of comparatively moderate talents, who have been invested with its functions, have been raised, at least temporarily, to an influence incalculably beyond what they could have attained without it. There are men, highly influential before being elected Bishops, whose real power is not thereby enhanced, simply because they were better adapted to their former sphere than to this. All men cannot be equally successful, and cannot equal their former successes in altered circumstances. A man whose success as an educator, a book agent, a secretary, an editor, a pastor, or a presiding elder, is unquestioned, and even brilliant, may comparatively fail as a Bishop. He may make a good and acceptable Bishop, but fall short of the same standing in his new vocation which he had in his old. There may be a want of adaptation, or he may lack the magnitude to fill the office to the utmost. Bishop Ames once asked a presiding elder how he was getting on. When answered, "Very well," he rejoined, "Ah! a presiding elder's district is about the right size, but the episcopacy is too big." When a statue is to be placed high, as on a portico or a tower, it must be of such size as to compensate for distance and relations, otherwise it will appear diminutive and incongruous. It had better be down on the ground and near the beholder, for its own sake as well as for the general architectural effect.

I recollect that some years ago Dr. Abel Stevens, in one of his live discussions on men and measures in the Church, with characteristic freedom mildly expressed regret for the election

of Drs. Ames and Simpson to the episcopacy. He claimed that they were so tied up by ecclesiastical laws and usages that their influence would be correspondingly curtailed. They could not participate, as before, in the debates of the General Conferences, or be outspoken on public questions, or any more be leaders of reforms. This was the drift of his argument. But has the sequel approved his judgment in Bishop Simpson's case? It was not possible that Matthew Simpson could be wholly repressed in any position. His individuality would have asserted itself in making things move wherever he might be placed, and he must have been a leader and at the front under any circumstances. But he had the instinct, the training, and the magnitude for a Bishop. When he was consecrated a Bishop, as Sumner said of Chase when Chase was sworn in as Chief-Justice, "A shapely block of granite was hoisted to its place."

The episcopal office is not to be judged simply by its disciplinary functions, although these, as showing the lowest view of its capacity for good, present unusual opportunities. If a Bishop should accomplish no more than the giving of correct decisions on points of law, and adjusting the preachers and charges to each other, a very important trust would be discharged, and the results might be sufficiently far-reaching to render the agent in so vast a work mighty for God. But if, in addition to these, he possesses capabilities not defined by the Discipline, and which may be regarded as incidents of the office, such as the ability in the charmed circles of society both by private talks and public addresses to inspire men with a resistless energy, and lift them upon a higher plane, and set them a-going on new and world-wide enterprises, it must be admitted that he magnifies the office almost indefinitely.

Bishop Simpson, all will allow, entered into and discharged all the essential and accidental functions of the episcopacy with entire success. He found much in the office, and he gave to it as much as he found. It offered him full scope for all his powers, and his powers magnified it. This gem of first water found its proper setting. No one who knew him, or who will hereafter know the truth of him, can ever speak slightingly of the Methodist episcopacy. Such a one must acknowledge its consummate grace when occupied by a man whose many-sidedness measured up to its capacity.

No amount of work Bishop Simpson could have rendered the Church, however excellent in quality, would have compensated for a failure in the legal requirements of his office. There is not the least evidence that his eminent services as an orator, or as a man of affairs, ever led him to slight the official duties of his position as General Superintendent. Nothing that he did was done more satisfactorily than his work in what has come to be known as the *cabinet*. In making the appointments of the preachers, no Bishop was more patient and painstaking, more thoughtful of the welfare of both pastors and people, or more judicious in his allotments. He was accessible to the least church or the least preacher. Indeed, far from repelling, he ever invited all freely to approach him, and to say what was in their hearts. He desired to do the best for all parties, and he needed all possible light to direct him. And somehow, there was that utter self-abandonment and frankness which awakened confidence in the most timid preacher who might go to him with any personal burden or perplexity about his appointment. No doubt he sometimes made mistakes (and no one was more ready to acknowledge them than he), yet evidently his disciplinary work at the close of each Annual Conference over which he presided bore the impress of the soundest judgment. If he did not excel some others in this delicate and difficult department, he was unquestionably the equal of any. Only a very few of his law-decisions or rulings have ever been reversed. Sometimes a question has been raised as to the strict legality of some of his appointments, as in the case of the People's Church in Boston; but here it is admitted that he acted according to the equity of the case, and under the shield of high necessity he took responsibility, at the risk of creating a precedent. If he ever swerved from the letter of the law, it was not because he did not know differently, but because knowing, he would, under the behests of the extremity, press the law to the utmost verge of allowableness. The garment was more important than a few of its fringes, the temple than some of its pinnacles or griffins.

Touching the lowest round of the official ladder, he was an example of punctuality, of promptness and attention to details in the dispatch of business, and in meeting the requirements of devotional exercises, both private and public. In all these

things there was no evidence of undue haste, nothing erratic or bordering on eccentricity—all was calm, deliberate, equable, and firm. When his humblest engagements were fulfilled, no apology had to be offered that any thing was improperly done or omitted under the plea that genius is impulsive, and necessarily forgetful of, or indifferent to, little things. Undoubtedly these little things were sometimes irksome—for his great soul must have been most of the time occupied with high thoughts—but they were regarded as indispensable parts of life's work, and as a thoughtful, good man he had schooled himself to do what was fitting and wholesome.

While Bishop Simpson thus performed, with the utmost fidelity, the plainest work of his office, he rose with the occasion, as this office opened its broader opportunities. A Methodist Bishop is the accredited head of his denomination where he resides, and wherever he goes; and as the representative of his people he becomes, tacitly at least, an important person, not only in his own denomination, but also in general society and in the State. Leadership is conceded to him, and he is looked to as a guide, a quickener, as well as a conservator, in all laudable enterprises. Bishop Simpson was born to lead. With a profound insight into human nature, a clear perception of the principles and motives governing men, an accurate discrimination in all questions affecting human destiny, and with convictions as strong as his discriminations were just, with a sincere love for progress arising from a yearning for personal improvement and corresponding advancement in those about him, he could not be still—he must go forward, and see others go forward. From a young man he had the courage of his convictions, and after he became Bishop, the man was not lost in the office; he still had thoughts and dared to express them. Repression of opinion or discussion was never his policy for himself or for his brethren. There was no seal upon his lips, simply because his heart was hot within him, responding in quick pulsations to the claims of humanity. He never seemed to think that he had any need to nurse either his dignity or his consistency. He would converse freely with the laymen, and with the youngest ministers of the Church about the most delicate and perplexing matters, after which his determinations were usually cheerfully accepted.

His caution was also equal to his courage; perhaps each contributed largely to the other. Where did he ever speak a rash word or do a rash act? He was no agitator for agitation's sake. His mind was rather constructive than destructive. He would build up rather than pull down. If he saw a vicious principle in a system he would do as the skillful workman would do by a faulty stone or plank—prop and brace the sound materials about it, and then cut it loose and draw it out, rather than ruthlessly knock down the whole building. And yet when the case required it he could deal weighty blows against wickedness, spiritual or otherwise, though enthroned in high places.

His brave spirit and consummate tact as a leader were never more highly displayed than in the lay representation movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Convinced that the principles of lay participation in the highest councils of the Church was a correct one, and also that the men who were advocating it were sincere and loyal Methodists, instead of standing aloof from them, under the plea that the functions of his office were wholly executive, and that by favoring them he might offend more than he would please, he joined them. With no ambition but the glory of God and the prosperity of the Church, he at once gained the intelligent confidence of the gentlemen who were determined upon the reform; and such was his ascendency over them that by a tacit consent he received from them the assurance that under no circumstances of provocation or delay would they secede from the Church. "Another secession!" That charge was nailed to the counter. Under his inspiration the lay delegations were the most loyal of the loyal, shouted more vociferously for the fathers and old-fashioned Methodism than all their brethren. He earnestly deprecated the possibility of violence and rashness. These brethren were, he believed, equally lovers of the Church with those who differed from them in judgment, and sought only its good. Hence he urged kindness, consideration, patience; old and honest prejudices were not to be instantly overcome. Thus while the advocates of lay representation appreciated the kind utterances of the Bishops in their successive quadrennial addresses, and while they respected the studied silence which some maintained as individuals during the controversy, they

were not slow to admit that they owed the early triumph of their cause largely to the advocacy of Bishop Simpson.

He was one of the first to pronounce in favor of higher ministerial education; to lead off in the improvement of church architecture among us; to countenance such arrangements as would tend to foster the social life of the young, and to bind them more closely to the Church. It was a grief to him to see so many of the children of our oldest and best families drifting away from Methodism as though there was not enough in the Church of their parents to satisfy them. Hence while he ceased not to emphasize whatever is peculiar to Methodist doctrine, experience, and polity, he also sought to harmonize these with the highest intellectual and social culture. He took great pains to cultivate the friendship of the young people of our leading families, as the destined social forces of the Church. He argued that if Methodist teaching and usage lifted men upon a higher plane, there ought to be nothing antagonistic in this usage and teaching to the religious life upon this plane. The prosperous and educated classes could as well be Methodists, if they correctly understood Methodism, as members of any other Christian Church. Methodism was to him the best realization of the kingdom of Christ on earth, and hence he thought it best suited to embody his highest ideas of redeemed humanity. It was strong enough and wide enough to sustain and comprehend all the varied fruits which were the product of its inherent vitality. It had made him all he was; under its wholesome care every generous aspiration of his nature had been nurtured; consequently it grieved him deeply to see the children of earnest Methodists turn away from the Church which had nourished their fathers and mothers, and so given them respectability.

While Bishop Simpson was a sincere patriot, and would undoubtedly have gone into public life had he not been a minister of the Gospel, and while much that he did for his country in the way of counsel and advocacy was from pure love for the nation and humanity, yet he was not indifferent to the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church as an important factor in public affairs. He not only wished that the influence of this great denomination, in the action of its individual members as citizens and in its position as an organization, should uphold

the country, but he was also jealous of the honor of the people of whom he was a constituted leader. Though by nature timid, and the last to push himself, yet conscious of the underlying support of a great denomination he did not hesitate, when called upon by the General Administration, to offer advice in the hour of peril, and to accept for Methodism appropriate honors in the time of triumph. It is well known that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton admitted him to their counsels in the conduct of the war, particularly in its civil aspects; and that not alone because they understood his power with the people, but because also they found him to be a disinterested and judicious friend. He could be trusted equally to calm the tumult or fire the hearts of the masses, and to speak wisdom in the councils of princes. The steadfast and intimate friend of the great and good martyr President while he lived, the personal relation as well as the national reputation of the Bishop was recognized in that he was called upon to deliver the funeral sermon at Mr. Lincoln's burial. All who knew Bishop Simpson will remember how sincerely in this regard, as well as in his speeches on great occasions and his public and private efforts for the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, he served his country; but at the same time he was truly glad to have the Church which he loved as the apple of his eye, brought to the front, and recognized in the loyalty which it felt and the sacrifices it made.

But after all that may be said of the excellence of Bishop Simpson as a man and an administrator, the one real and immediate cause of his ascendency was, *his power as a preacher of the Gospel.* Burning with the love of Christ and the love of man, he preached as but few men of this age or any other have done. Though admitted to be a good average scholar and a sensible, devout Christian, it was his preaching which first brought him into prominence among his brethren, and sustained him in that prominence almost to the close of his life. Many years ago a certain professor of a Western college said to a distinguished teacher in the East, as they were discussing the great preachers of Methodism, "We have out in Indiana a man named Simpson who can outpreach them all." It would be difficult to overstate his popularity with the Hoosiers in those earlier days, when he was president of the Indiana

Asbury University. The anecdotes of his pulpit and platform triumphs would make a volume in the annals of sacred oratory. Wherever he appeared crowds gathered about him, and he would preach with such wondrous influence that it was not uncommon for the great multitudes to be wrought up to the highest pitch of ecstasy or anguish. His name became a household word throughout the State. He moved eastward to Ohio, and in Cincinnati, as well as in all the regions round about, the same remarkable effects followed. Called farther east, by his election to the episcopacy, and going up and down the Atlantic States from Maine to Maryland, whether he stood before the cold and philosophical New Englanders, the versatile descendants of the Knickerbockers of New York and New Jersey, the plain and quiet Friends of Pennsylvania, or the thoughtful and emotional Baltimoreans, it was all the same; every-where triumphs awaited him. All classes heard him gladly, and he was by common consent ranked with the first preachers of the nation. The rank then assigned him was never afterward disputed. Such success must have been based on solid merits. Many western meteors have flashed across the eastern horizon only as quickly to disappear in darkness; but this man, a star of the first magnitude, when he had once risen steadily, shone on in his place till the final setting in death. There may be, here and there, a few who never felt, and consequently never admitted, his transcendent power, but they must be regarded as exceptions to the rule. As common sense is the best sense, so the common judgment of mankind is the best test of excellence in preaching.

In attempting to account for Bishop Simpson's pre-eminence as a preacher, it must be considered, first of all, that he recognized preaching as the great business of his life. He was called of God to be a preacher long before he was called of the Church to be a Bishop. This call was, like his conversion, radical and abiding. It so possessed him that it left nothing in him unappropriated. Hence preaching could never be treated as secondary, or accessory to something else, much less as an accident of his vocation. It was the one thing of all others to be done with his might. This was the grand absorbent which drew in, dissolved, and assimilated all the resources of his affluent mind. God converted his soul and said to him, "Go,

tell it;" and he began to tell it, and he went on telling it. There was to him no fact, with its correlations, so important as this; not alone was it fresh when it first took place, but the freshest of all truths to his latest day; and to proclaim it was the necessity and joy begotten of its irresistible impulse. Though he grew in intelligence, station, fortune, and fame, he never grew away from his early conviction of the supreme dignity and importance of preaching. When, therefore, he stood before the people "to speak the words of this life," whether in the backwoods or the metropolis of the land, he did the best of which he was capable. His estimate of the pulpit he has himself indicated in the Yale lectures: "It seems to me that the possibilities connected with preaching have been only partially realized, and that a bright and more glorious day will dawn upon the Church." This thorough absorption not only led him to bring all his acquirements to the pulpit, but it impressed his audience with such a sense of his moral and professional earnestness as predisposed them to a favorable hearing.

This view of the work of preaching as the one grand engagement of his life led him uniformly to preach for the highest results. "If you would be eloquent," said the venerable Dr. Tyng, "preach always as if you were in a revival." Thus, by both a spiritual and artistic instinct, Bishop Simpson, brushing aside all trivialities, seized upon, as the staple of his discourses, the great fundamental truths of the Gospel. Such themes as sin, atonement, salvation, the harmony of natural and revealed law, the final triumph of Christianity, and kindred topics, were those he usually discussed with all his energy of mind and heart. This sort of selection as to his subjects guaranteed an order of discussion which could not fail to be worthy the attention of the most cultivated among his hearers. He never failed to impress an audience by the quality of his thought as well as by the sincerity of his purpose.

The subject-matter of his discourses owed much of its impressiveness to the mode of its expression. It might possibly be affirmed that no one can be an original thinker who has not imagination, for imagination is the faculty by which old truths are seen in new lights, by which relations between a well-understood order and an order not so well understood, or hitherto

not at all, are brought to view. It is the creative faculty that clothes dead things with life, and makes the tame and commonplace facts of existence fresh, realistic. This faculty Bishop Simpson possessed to a wondrous degree. Fancy, too, he had. He could describe a scene or a thing with great accuracy and with the delicate touches of a landscape painter. But his *forte* was original perceptions—that all-seeing imagination before whose blaze hidden things fall open as the quartz dissolves into its elements before the blow-pipe. The mind of the hearer likes this mode of putting thought. It excites wonder and secures assent; it entertains while it instructs. There was in all his sermons marks of a great intellect. The effect produced by them was not that which results merely from exciting the emotions, but rather that which comes of a thorough conviction of the understanding. Beginning with a statement of truths held in common by the natural and spiritual man, upon these as a foundation he builded the superstructure, carrying the judgment of the hearer with him in every step of the ascent until he reached the conclusion; a culmination in which not only the harmony of natural and revealed religion was seen, but the infinite superiority of the latter was triumphantly vindicated. Thus in every sermon, whether by design or instinct, there was unity, movement, cumulation. One leading idea gathered about it all subordinate ones, and grew by their contributions until it expanded into one magnificent whole of evangelical truth. And usually when this grand *finale* was reached his hearers were captured—the spiritual man rejoiced and the natural man assented.

And yet with all these qualities—his devout piety, honesty as a man, logical precision, affluence of imagination, and his single purpose to save men—the core of his preaching is not quite touched, nor the hidden springs of his power detected. To understand what it was that gave his preaching its charm you must go back of its subject-matter, and its merely intellectual and religious character, to the genius of the man. He was by nature an orator. Heaven had endued him with the gift of thinking, feeling, and speaking *eloquently*. What this means who can define? If asked what is beauty, one may reply that it is unity in variety, fitness, the evolution of forces, etc., but none of these will fully answer; and yet we all *feel* beauty when

we see it in an object or a thought. It is alike difficult to tell what poetry is, though we say many things helpful to a correct understanding of it. So eloquence has never been satisfactorily explained. One man gets up before us with a physique as perfect as that of Apollo Belvidere, his head and face of classic mold, his voice attuned like that of an organ, his ideas original and grand, and his action faultless—and we feel his power, we are entranced as by the spell of a magician. We say this is eloquence. So it is. But another comes without a single feature in his bodily appearance to recommend him, and claims a hearing. He is under size, or tall and ungainly, his head defiant of the acknowledged rules of phrenology, his eye rather expressionless than otherwise, his voice squeaky or harsh, his ideas at first are commonplace and his action violates all grace, and, yet, as the man speaks, he gradually gains your attention, disarms your prejudices, wins your favor, until he penetrates you as with a flame of fire, and you melt before him, or he sweeps you away as with a whirlwind, and, regardless of the question as to whether he is logical or graceful, you are borne down. Here, too, is eloquence; you feel it. Sharp as is the contrast between the two men, there is one thing in which they are the same. They possess the strange power of transfusing their hearers with their own personality, so that the hearers think and feel as they do. It is something—a spark—which inheres in the original structure of the mind. It is born in a man, and not acquired.

Such was the endowment of Bishop Simpson. This spark lightened with its flame the whole man, soul and body. Every thing he did, he did eloquently. He thought, wrote, spoke, moved as an orator. In scanning the files of the "Western Christian Advocate" for the four years he was editor, one will find the same essential features in his editorials which all along distinguished his spoken discourses. They are suffused with a warmth which puts the soul aglow with the vitality of the man who is behind the pen. In all his words, looks, and actions, whether he talked familiarly with a friend or two, or looked calmly upon an audience before rising to speak, or stooped to kiss a child or to grasp a brother's hand in passing, there was a gleam of the inward light. Men will say it was sympathy with mankind, earnestness, a losing of

himself in his subject and for others. All true; it was all this, and something besides. To Bishop Simpson's oratory may be felicitously applied the language which Mr. Curtis uses in his oration on Wendell Phillips: "Unconsciously and surely the ear and heart were charmed. How was it done? Ah, how did Mozart do it, how Raphael? The secret of the rose's sweetness, of the bird's ecstasy, of the sunset's glory—that is the secret of genius and of eloquence. . . . Like an illuminating vase of odors, he glowed with concentrated and perfumed fire. The divine energy of his conviction utterly possessed him and his.

> "'Pure and eloquent blood
> Spoke in *his* cheeks, and so distinctly wrought,
> That one might almost say *his* body thought.'"

Thousands who have listened to Bishop Simpson will recall many illustrations of this singular power. A leading educator of our Church heard him soon after his election to the episcopacy on his first visit to New England. The theme was "The Victory of Faith." He says: "I stood in the aisle of the church during the entire time, from one hour and a half to two hours, wholly insensible of the flight of time." On another occasion, this gentleman himself had preached on Sunday morning at one of the Bishop's Conferences, the Bishop being unable to preach. After the ordination, the Bishop began to exhort, and in a few minutes the whole audience was convulsed with emotion; preachers and people laughed and wept as though beside themselves. Those who attended the reunion of the Ohio and Cincinnati Conferences at Chillicothe, O., during the war (1864, perhaps) will never forget the scene. Bishop Simpson had been addressing the joint bodies upon the issues before the country, and in his peroration he turned to the "Stars and Stripes" above him, and, taking hold of its folds, he burst into a thrilling apostrophe to the old flag. The effect was electrical; the ministers shouted, wept, stamped, embraced each other, and, it was afterward reported, some even rolled over on the floor. The scene was simply indescribable.

It was our privilege to hear Charles Sumner and Bishop Simpson in New York about the same week, during the exciting presidential campaign of 1864. Mr. Sumner spoke in

Cooper Union. The audience was select. The oration was masterly. Beginning with a description of two ships which steered for the American coast, one from a port of England freighted with the Puritans seeking freedom in the New World, the other from the coast of Africa freighted with negroes doomed to servitude; he went on to trace the rise and progress of the great controversy between freedom and slavery up to that hour, and the issue that was then upon us. Throughout, the sentences were compact, the argument conclusive, and the rhetoric perfect. Every body was convinced, but there was little or no emotion. Bishop Simpson spoke to a vast concourse in the Academy of Music on the value of the Union. The argument was an aggregation of facts, grouped in such order and so luminously and forcibly put that men bit their lips, clenched their fists, or stamped, shouted, and wept, as if to say, 'It is so, the Union never shall be sundered." For logical precision and classical finish his oration was not the equal of Sumner's; and yet in effect it far excelled it, and that, too, with many thoughtful people.

Another recollection: it was our good fortune to hear the Bishop when he preached as our representative before the British Wesleyan Conference at Burslem, England, in 1870. Bishop Foster, then Dr. Foster, his co-delegate, said to me, "Let us go up into the gallery, and take seats where we can see the effect of the sermon on the Conference." And so we took seats in one end of the deep gallery of the old chapel, whence we could overlook the platform on which sat the "one hundred," and have a general view of the audience. The preacher's text was: "But none of these things move me," etc. Acts xx, 24. I do not remember the order of the sermon. He discussed a call to the ministry—gave a graphic picture of Paul's career—his trials and successes—pausing as the apostle was confronted by each successive conflict, and hearing him cry, "But none of these things move me." We followed with the rest, and were glad to see that our great Bishop was carrying the British with him. When his explanations and arguments were well through, the antitheses and climaxes made, suddenly he adverted to his own call to preach. He depicted his youth, his orphanage, his long struggles. Finally the Spirit of God fastened the conviction upon him, and now the difficulty was

to break it to his mother. How would she be affected by it? Could she give him up? Could he ever leave her? He was her only son and child. Approaching her one day, he said, "Mother, I think I shall have to preach." Without hesitation she said, "Why, Matthew, I have been expecting this since you were a child. Your father and I dedicated you to God when you were born." At this recital my heart went to my throat, my eyes overflowed. I tried to hide my emotions from Dr. Foster, but as I did so I glanced at him; and he, if possible, was more overcome than I was. We both wept, forgetful of others. We also, like the rest, had fallen under the spell of the great preacher; this, too, when we had meant to study in cold blood the secret of his power over an audience.

After such experiences it were easy to concede him to be a modern Chrysostom. Of that great ancient preacher, Suidas observes that "he had a tongue which exceeded the cataracts of the Nile in fluency, so that he delivered many of his panegyrics on the martyrs extempore without the least hesitation. His hearers were sometimes rapt in such profound attention that pickpockets took advantage of it; sometimes they were melted to tears, or beat their breasts and faces, and uttered groans and cries to heaven for mercy; at other times they clapped their hands or shouted." *

In concluding this rapid sketch, a few points in summing up seem to be worthy of special note:

He is an example of the high achievements possible to a well-endowed, industrious, painstaking, and devout youth. He began life an orphan boy, with no rich and influential friends, and advanced to the most commanding position. There were no abrupt breaks in his career; so far as we can see, no serious mistakes. He moved steadily and serenely forward and upward, gathering strength and increasing in influence until the hour of his death. If he possessed natural gifts above the average youths, he did not seem to know it, and certainly he never trusted to mere genius for success. His application to all work was incessant. He was thoroughly honest in the use of time and means. When he first began to preach he was so simple and guileless that he conscientiously abstained from special preparation for preaching. He did not

* "Life of St. Chrysostom," by W. R. W. Stephens, M. A., London.

select his text or premeditate his subject before entering the pulpit, deeming it necessary that he should absolutely trust the Lord both for his text and his sermon. "Open thy mouth and I will fill it." But he learned better as he grew older, and when a more excellent way opened to him, he was equally honest in following it. In those earlier years he was not as uniformly effective in his ministrations as afterward. Judging from a comment in the unpublished journal of the late Bishop Waugh, he made comparative failures in the pulpit even after he was a professor at Meadville. "Wheeling, Va.—Heard Prof. Simpson preach in the evening—it was only a tolerable performance." But he studied and triumphed. No young man can fully know what stuff he is made of until he has studied with all his might, and studied *persistently*.

In the matter of physical advantages he has also illustrated the efficiency of an intelligent, straightforward courage. Instead of yielding to an early tendency to pulmonary disease, and desisting from preaching, he persevered and cured it. "Open-air exercise, continuous and *judicious* speaking, saved me, as I believe, from a premature death," he has more than once been heard to say. Nor was there any thing in his person, until it expanded and glowed with the inspiration of an audience, which impressed one with his power. He would never have been picked out of an assembly, by those who knew him not, as a great man. His form was tall, but slight and stooped; his head was small for the size of his body, with a low forehead, projecting shaggy eyebrows, and there was not the dome-like cranium which is popularly associated with the highest intellects. His eyes, when he was in repose, were bright enough, but not at all piercing, and were rather quiet, and indicative of kindly, benevolent feeling, than of incisive thought and great will-power. It was not until he was fully aroused and on fire with some mighty subject that you had "the warrior's eye beneath the philosopher's brow." Then the whole form and features, like some ancient classic urn, shone resplendent from the brightness within. Who can ever forget his looks as, thus transfigured, he spoke to us of Christ and heaven, until the gates of paradise seemed to open above him, and we with him gazed in at the celestial glory and saw the King in his beauty.

Bishop Simpson was a remarkable example of the union of the highest mental qualities in the most perfect harmony. He was both a philosopher and an orator. His brilliant eloquence was associated with profound and far-reaching thought. His career is a standing refutation of the baseless assumption that a man cannot be a popular preacher and a deep, close thinker. "Genius," says Guizot, "is bound to follow human nature in all its developments. Its strength consists in finding within itself the means of satisfying the whole of the public. It should exist for all, and should suffice at once for the wants of the masses and for the requirements of the most exalted minds." There were those who were ready to say of Dr. Durbin, before his profound practical wisdom was wrought into the immortal Methodist missionary scheme, that he was simply an "inspired declaimer." And I presume there are some persons sufficiently narrow to deny to the most eloquent orator of England that he is at the same time the most sagacious, comprehensive statesman. Mr. Gladstone could not to-day be the mightiest factor in British and continental politics without his popular oratory; nor would his eloquence avail unless sustained by the deepest and clearest insight into the principles which underlie both divine and human governments. Bishop Simpson was capable of the keenest analysis and the most abstruse discussions, as his articles on conscience and kindred topics, written when he was an editor, abundantly show. He could have excelled as a metaphysician, if metaphysics had been his chosen field; and had he devoted himself to the natural sciences in which he began as a college professor, he might have become a Henry, a Silliman, or possibly an Agassiz. He had an EYE for *principles* whichever way he turned. It was this power of discernment and penetration that so stamped with common sense all he did that some, in characterizing his intellectual make-up, have been attracted more by his *judiciousness* than by all else.

Another fact which is well worthy of note is, that there is not, and need not be in this age or any age, a decline in the power and influence of the pulpit. The sustained popularity of Bishop Simpson and Mr. Spurgeon for so many years, not to name others, shows that when the human heart is rightly addressed it will respond. To say nothing of the great truths—pardon,

holiness, providence, and heaven, which form the substance of preaching and which are so indispensable to the soul—preaching, when really eloquent, appeals to the æsthetic nature of man. As an art it has its foundation in the higher susceptibilities of human nature, precisely as music or painting or any other fine art has. Indeed, there is no power like the power of the tongue. There is nothing in the whole range of nature which gives such satisfaction as talking. The faculty of speech is man's noblest endowment.

People love to talk and to be talked to, and hence conversation is the most agreeable relaxation, and that which usually caps all other exercises. Where preaching, rising upon the conversational tone and manner as a basis, keeps true to nature, it never can cease to be attractive. The vice of the pulpit has been an artificial, stilted, professional style of delivery. The same may apply too well to the rhetorical structure of sermons. But average people will listen to almost any thing which is spoken in a natural manner. The soul will always kindle to eloquent thoughts, eloquently spoken. And if preachers ignore this vantage ground which the God of nature has given them, in the love which is implanted in all men for the beautiful, and shall fail to meet its requirements, then surely must the pulpit decay. It is not enough for men called of God to skulk under the cover that the Gospel is indispensable to mankind, and that men must be damned if they do not listen to it. No honest preacher wants to shield his neglect of study and culture under the sacredness and importance of his message; on the contrary, the more he is impressed with its holy and stupendous character the more he yearns so to present it as that, in his manner at least, there shall be nothing to repel, but every thing to attract, those to whom his message is to be either a savor of life unto life or a savor of death unto death. God's great method of saving the world by preaching is so grounded in supernatural and natural reasons as that there need never be a decadence of the pulpit. Such examples as that of Bishop Simpson in our own times strikingly illustrate the position. Nothing but lack of moral convictions, spiritual earnestness, and professional enthusiasm can bring about a falling away from the eloquence of the fathers in the Gospel.

Art II.—CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[First Paper.]

Churches are spiritual empires, and in these realms, as in the state, prosperity and liberty are safe only in the guardianship of law. It is true that the aim of the Christian Church is holy, and its principles are professedly drawn from the word of God, but its subjects and rulers are erring men, and its prizes have a fascination for human ambition hardly surpassed by those of secular empires. Nowhere else has man been so degraded and his natural rights trodden upon as in religious organizations.

Our aim in these articles is to throw light on the somewhat obscure and confused question of the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to define that law, trace the history of its development, and bring together some of the principles that have been established during the first century of our history. There are many difficulties in such an inquiry. The field is a comparatively new one; the literature of the subject is fragmentary and scattered, and the data are uncertain and frequently contradictory. We have no Supreme Court to whose records we may appeal for final judgments. It is one of the defects of our system that the General Conference, which is our legislative body, is also our ultimate Court of Appeals. "The General Conference," says Dr. L. L. Hamline in his famous speech in 1844 (General Conference Journal, Debates, p. 130), "is a Court of Appeals beyond which no parties can travel for the cure of errors. It is the *dernier ressort*, not only of appellants, but of original complainants. If it err, which is not a legal presumption, its unwholesome error is incurable except by the *vis medicatrix*—the medicinal virtue—of its own judicial energies."

The Methodist Episcopal Church is a Church of constitutional and statute law. From the earliest days of its history the functions and responsibilities of its officers were clearly defined in the yearly Minutes and Discipline, as were also the duties and privileges of its members.

Our judicial system dates from the organization of the Church. There have, however, been conflicting opinions in

the Church and in the General Conference on constitutional questions, especially as to the prerogatives of the episcopacy and the powers of the General Conference. Upon these vexed questions we hope to throw some light, and to put the entire subject in such form as to lead to settled results. It is a subject that needs careful and painstaking inquiry. It would not be difficult to prove that the gravity of constitutional obligations has not always been sufficiently felt in our past history.

Let the reader recall, as examples, the action of the General Conference of 1844, in connection with the separation of the Church South, the action of the Conference of 1868 in admitting representatives from Mission Conferences, and the action of 1872 in relegating Conference boundaries to a committee with power.

Another fact which commends this question to the careful study of the ministers and people of the Church is, that there is probably no Church in Christendom where there is so much discretionary power committed to its officers as in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been our boast that we have an efficient executive and a strong government. Our economy demands this, inasmuch as it is indispensable to the continuance of that fundamental institution of Methodism, the itinerancy—the institution which, next to the grace of God, is the fount and origin of our prosperity. But a powerful executive is also a dangerous one; and in exact proportion to the power of the center should be the explicitness of the laws that define and protect the rights and privileges of the individual members of the Church and of the ministry.

The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church is both written and unwritten. As written, it includes the organic statutes that were enacted for the government of the Church by the General Conference of 1808, or that have since been legally adopted. The Conference of 1808 may be called the Constitutional Convention of the Church, for the reason that it was the last General Conference composed of all the traveling preachers, and that it provided for the future government of the Church by a delegated Conference acting under constitutional restraints. It is usual to say that the written constitution is the six Restrictive Rules with the famous grant of power which precedes them, to wit:

The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely.

"The written constitution, according to my conception,* is found in what are called, in our Discipline, the Restrictive Rules." But this is a mistake. On several occasions in the history of the Church, especially in the great constitutional debates of 1868, it was found that this was not only a partial view of the matter, but also a thoroughly false view. The opinion presented by Dr. S. M. Merrill (now Bishop Merrill), and ably argued by him and others in the debates on Lay Delegation in 1868, and supported at that time by the final action of that General Conference, is the best law on this subject. Dr. Merrill held, that the written constitution of the Church included those sections of the Discipline (Part II, Chapter I) which relate to the several styles of Conferences and define their functions. The constitution of the General Conference is that portion of that chapter which refers to the General Conference, and under which the first delegated General Conference was organized; the constitution of the Annual Conference is that portion of the same chapter which relates to the Annual Conference, and so on. Dr. Merrill said:

The Quarterly Conference cannot change its own constitution; the Annual Conference cannot change its own constitution; and no more can the General Conference change its own constitution. The General Conference may change the constitution of the Annual Conference because it is subordinate, and likewise of the Quarterly Conference because it is subordinate; and likewise *the same power that made the General Conference* may change the constitution of that body.

As this is a matter of great importance we make some quotations from Dr. Merrill's speech:

It is wonderful that, in this second century of American Methodism, there should be disagreement among us as to what part of our Discipline contains the constitution of the Church. But it is so. I have been no little surprised, here and elsewhere, to hear men of learning and ability advance the opinion, as though it were settled and established beyond question, that the only constitutional provisions in the Discipline are found in the six articles known as the Restrictive Rules. This I regard as

* Speech of John M'Clintock in General Conference of 1868.

a grand mistake, and one that is so fundamentally wrong that it ought at once to be corrected.

His argument to show that the entire section relating to the General Conference had constitutional authority was as follows:

If we have authority by a majority vote to alter this first answer, relating to membership in the General Conference, we have equal right to change the second answer—and we have been asked to do that thing—the one which tells us when the General Conference shall meet; and having this right we may stereotype the action of this Conference by refusing to have another session for fifty or a hundred years. We may, by a simple majority vote, ordain that the next session of the General Conference shall be held in 1972 instead of 1872. Does any one pretend that we have a right to do this in the face of the express provision of the constitution, which says: "The General Conference shall meet in the city of New York on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord 1812, and thenceforward on the first day of May once in four years perpetually?" But according to the assumption under consideration we may do this, and by a mere majority vote.

Again, if we can change the first and second answers to this question, we can also change the third, which provides that it shall at all times require two thirds of all the members elected to form a quorum. Is it possible that any legislative body working under a written constitution given to it by a superior authority can claim any such right as this—right to change its quorum, which has been established for it by a power above itself? Was ever such a thing heard of before?

But this is not all. If this body has the power to make the changes mentioned, it may also change the fourth answer, which tells us that a Bishop shall preside over the General Conference. If this assumption is true, we may at any time by a mere majority vote displace you, sir, Mr. President, and displace any and all these Bishops, so far as the presidency of the General Conference is concerned, and put a man from our own body into the chair to preside. Now, are we prepared to claim any such power as this? I trust not, sir; but it is clearly our right to do so if the assumption is correct that we may change any part of this section except the restrictions.

But still further, I call your attention to another fact of no little importance in this connection. It is that this provision for altering the Restrictive Rules is itself outside of the Restrictive Rules. It is not of the nature of a restriction. It is connected with the restrictions, I grant, and its provisions relate to them, and only to them, but it is outside of them; and if we have the power to change by a majority vote all outside of the Restrictive Rules, then we have the power to change this provision for change. And if we have the right to do this, these restrictions are not worth the paper on which they are written. The moment

we claim the right to change the provision for change we put the whole list of restrictions under the power of the majority, and they may do what they please.*

In harmony with the principles of Bishop Merrill's speech, lay delegation was incorporated in our Church system by the constitutional two thirds and three fourths votes. It may be claimed, therefore, that this question of what constitutes the written constitution of the Church was settled in the General Conference of 1868.

The unwritten constitution, *lex non scripta*, embraces those facts, obligations, and customs which are implied in the written law, and have been recognized in the history of the Church as involved in the original compact, and essential to the integrity of the system. That our episcopacy, for example, is not a third order in the ministry, *jure divino*, is a part of this unwritten law, for this is implied in its history and in its dependence upon the Church; but, on the other hand, it is equally a part of the unwritten constitution that the General Conference shall, by sufficiently frequent elections, maintain an efficient episcopacy in the Church, though this duty is not specifically enjoined upon them in the organic law.

We quote, on this point, from the speech of Dr. D. Curry on the occasion referred to above, when Bishop Merrill addressed the General Conference:

I agree with Brother Merrill's interpretation of the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But there is more in this matter that has yet been brought before us. Behind the words and between the lines of a constitution there is always a deeper meaning and a broader reach of sense than is found in the letter itself. The written constitution is broader, deeper, and more solid than that which is expressed, and that is precisely the point which I wish to press in this case. There is nowhere found in the Book of Discipline the declaration that you shall not change the name of our Church, and I do not believe that you will hold that this body has power to do so. There is nothing in that constitution which forbids our striking out our name and taking any other name we please, but I do not suppose, therefore, we have power to do it. There are certain things that lie back of our corporate life, and those things are the very power which gave us our existence. The constituency of the General Conference existed before the General Conference had any being, which constituency exists yet, and that is the presbytery or body of

* Daily Christian Advocate, 1868, p. 98.

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elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which, according to our theory of government, inheres all our governmental powers.*

We now proceed to another part of our subject, namely, the interpretation of the constitution. And here we meet the two parties of strict and liberal constructionists that are found in all governments: the party that leans to centralization and the increase of executive prerogative, and the party that leans to diffused power and local self-government. These two parties have manifested themselves throughout the entire history of the Church. They were face to face in 1820 when Joshua Soule declined the episcopacy because of the vote of the Conference for an elective presiding eldership; again in 1844 when the Southern preachers supported Bishop Andrew against the vote of suspension; again in 1868, though in a somewhat different form, over the lay delegation question; and again in 1876 on an elective eldership. The last conflict of these two tendencies, and in some respects the most significant in the history of the Church, was in the General Conference of 1884 at Philadelphia.

There are five fundamental features in every Church organization, (*a*) the polity, (*b*) the creed, (*c*) the conditions of membership, (*d*) the rights and privileges of the ministry and members, and (*e*) the governing authority. In the Methodist Episcopal Church these are all defined in the section of the Discipline on "The General Conference," but chiefly in the Restrictive Rules of that section. The government of the Church is committed to the General Conference, subject to the limitations of its constitution. The composition and constituency of the General Conference are prescribed in the second Restrictive Rule. The polity of the Church is the episcopal polity, which fact, together with our peculiar style of episcopacy, is set forth in the third Restrictive Rule. The first Rule prescribes the creed; the fourth Rule protects "the General Rules," which define the moral discipline and conditions of membership in the Church; the fifth and sixth Rules protect the rights and privileges of the ministry and laity.

Before attempting the interpretation of these Rules, we must consider the question of the powers of the General Conference in its relations to the Church, under the terms of the

* Daily Christian Advocate, 1868, p. 102.

constitution. Over this question the battle was fought in the Conferences of 1844 and 1848.

In obedience to the demands of the Southern preachers for a separation from the Church the General Conference of 1844 adopted the famous "Plan of Separation," by which they consented to the removal from the Methodist Episcopal Church of

all the societies, stations, and Conferences adhering to the Church in the South by a vote of a majority of the members of said societies, stations, and Conferences, . . . provided also, that this rule shall apply only to societies, stations, and Conferences bordering on the line of division, and not to interior charges, which shall in all cases be left to the care of that Church within whose territory they are situated.*

The ministers, local and traveling, were at liberty to make choice between the two Churches, and the consent of the Annual Conferences was asked for a division of the property. By this high-handed procedure the General Conference rent the Church in sunder, in flagrant violation of that broad principle of law that a delegated body, established to promote the prosperity of the Church, has no authority to destroy it, and also of that part of the constitution which guarantees the privileges of the Church, with the right of trial and appeal, to all its members. The General Conference of 1848 reversed, so far as was practicable, the action of its predecessor in this matter, and declared the Plan of Separation "null and void." After a long and very able debate the Conference adopted the following resolutions:

1. There exists no power in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to pass any act which, either directly or indirectly, effectuates, authorizes, or sanctions a division in said Church.

2. It is the right of every member of the Methodist Episcopal Church to remain in said Church unless guilty of a violation of its rules; and there exists no power in the ministry, either individually or collectively, to deprive any member of said right.†

The remaining resolutions declared the action of the Conference of 1844, in separating members from the Church without trial and without their consent, to be unconstitutional and therefore void.

The following extract from the speech of Dr. D. Curry,

* General Conference Journal, p. 135. † *Ibid.*, p. 73.

while the above resolutions were in debate, elaborates the principles of our law which were established by the final action of the General Conference of 1848:

I contend that the "Plan of Separation" violates the inherent and constitutional rights of our ministers and members. I do not refer exclusively to the fifth Restrictive Rule of our Discipline, though to me it seems as plainly to override that Rule and to contradict its provisions as *yes* and *no* are contradictions. For while the "Plan" placed hundreds of thousands of our people beyond our pale, without the shadow of a trial, the Rule declares that the General Conference "shall not do away the privileges of our ministers and preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, and of an appeal." What, I pray, is the privilege of a trial, here so sacredly guarded, but the means of securing one's standing and membership in the Church? and if that membership is taken away otherwise than by a trial, then is this rule violated.

But I go back to the fundamental compact of the Church with its individual members, by which are guaranteed to them the privileges of the Church so long as they conform to its rules of Discipline. There is in all social compacts a *lex non scripta*—an unwritten law, lying back of written constitutions and laws, of which the written law is a more or less perfect transcript. The obligation between the Church in its intangible individuality and its members is mutual, and while they remain faithful to their duties it has no right to deprive them of their privileges.

We add a paragraph from Dr. F. G. Hibbard's "Life of Bishop Hamline" (p. 141):

The powers of the General Conference, be they more or less, being delegated, not primal, the object and intention of the act of investiture must become the gauge and limit of the power invested. To transcend this limit is a fraud and a usurpation. This is not less a principle of law than of ethics. In the intentions of the constituency lay the ethics and legal limitations of the delegating act, beyond which the acts of General Conference had no *jure humano* ground or validity. That the power to divide the Church was not specifically mentioned in the Restrictive Rules is no evidence that it is specifically vested in the General Conference. . . . Nor had the constituency of 1808 itself the moral right thus to divide, without at least the concurrent voice of the entire body of the membership. To have assumed it would have been a usurpation and a violation of the tacit but real compact of Church fellowship. The ministry were not the total Church.

But while it is clear that the Conference of 1844 overstepped its legal powers, and thereby caused much evil to the Church,

yet it is not easy to define the exact boundaries of constitutional restraint. The grant of power to the General Conference is as follows:

> The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely.

What are the powers given to the General Conference by the terms of this grant? In answer to this pivotal question we quote, first, from the able and elaborate argument of Bishop Harris in his treatise on "The Constitutional Powers of the General Conference:"

> The constitution gives to the General Conference *full powers* to make rules and regulations under defined limitations—power to make *all* rules and regulations pertinent to Church government under *specified* restrictions, and under no other restrictions. There is not here a delegation of enumerated powers accompanied by a general reservation, as in the case of the Federal Government, but a delegation of general and sweeping powers under enumerated and well-defined restrictions. The whole power to rule and regulate the Church is given to the General Conference by the plain terms of the grant, and it is to be held as restricted only in those particulars in which it was designed not to delegate the power. In what particulars it was designed not to delegate the power must be determined by the terms of the constitution. No limitations can be implied other than those assigned in the instrument itself.—Page 22.
>
> To ascertain, therefore, the powers of the General Conference in a given case, no search need be made for a specific warrant for the particular rule which it is proposed to enact. It is enough that the constitution does not forbid the rule; for the terms of the grant devolving legislative power upon the General Conference are sufficiently comprehensive to authorize the passage of any rule not clearly excepted by the enumerated restrictions.—Page 24.

This puts the authority of the General Conference in a very strong way, and one can only subscribe to it by insisting clearly that the constitution includes more than the grant and its limitations in the Restrictive Rules. The constitution must be understood as we have defined it above. The speech of Dr. Hamline in the Conference of 1844 is of such high authority that it may be regarded as one of the standards on this subject. We quote:

> Here, Mr. President, let me say a word concerning our Church constitution. It is a remarkable instrument. It differs cardinally

from most or all civil constitutions. These generally proceed to demark the several departments of government—the legislative, judicial, and executive—and by positive grant, assign each department its duties. Our constitution is different. It does not divide the powers of our government into legislative, executive, and judicial. It provides for a General Conference, and for an episcopacy and general superintendency. It leaves all the powers of the three great departments of government, except what is essential to an episcopacy, etc., in this General Conference. It restricts us slightly in all our powers, but not in one department more than in another. Under this constitution the Conference is as much a judicatory as a legislature; and it is as much an executive body as either.

Dr. Hamline's speech attempts to prove that the General Conference "has legislative, judicial, and executive supremacy." "Beyond these slender restrictions, its legislation is legitimate and conclusive; and within them it is so, if the members of the Annual Conferences are consenting." *

Concerning the first Restrictive Rule, which treats of the Articles of Religion, two questions are asked—whether there is any power that can change the Articles? and whether it is competent for the General Conference to add to their number? In answer to the first, it may be said that the power that made the Rule can unmake it. Back of all jurisdictions in the Church is the Church itself. The Rule was left in this way in 1832 by the concurrent vote of all the Annual Conferences and two thirds of the General Conference.†

The answer to the second inquiry was made in the able report of the Bishops on this specific subject to the General Conference of 1876. It was there declared, and ably argued, that any additions to the Articles of Religion would be a virtual "change" of the Articles, and therefore an infraction of the Rule, and, of course, unlawful. ‡

We now come to the consideration of the third Restrictive Rule, which defines the limitations of the General Conference touching the episcopacy. The Rule declares that the General Conference "shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Here we are on an

* Hamline's speech, Journal, General Conference, 1844.

† Sherman's "History of the Discipline," p. 134.

‡ Journal of General Conference, 1876, pp. 206–208.

ancient battle-field, where we must move with careful and reverent steps. Ours is an Episcopal Church, with the most vigorous episcopacy of any Church in Christendom. The episcopacy is an integral and indispensable part of our economy, as at present organized, for to it is committed not only the supervision of the entire Church, but also the power of propelling the itinerant ministry. And while it is responsible for its administration, under the law, to the General Conference, yet as an institution it is not dependent on the General Conference, but is co-ordinate with it in our governing system. It is therefore both co-ordinate and subordinate. The power that instituted the General Conference, namely, the entire body of the elders, also instituted the episcopacy, so that the General Conference can neither abolish it nor change its character as an "itinerant general superintendency." The circulating ministry is guaranteed a circulating episcopacy.

But in its relation to the Church as a whole, "our episcopacy" (we quote from a lecture of Bishop Harris) "is derived, dependent, and responsible. Its authority is a delegated authority only, and may be modified just as the body of the eldership, from which it was derived, shall see proper, and that, too, without any infringement on the rights of the Bishops themselves."

In searching for the interpretation which the Church has put upon the third Restrictive Rule, we meet with two theories of our episcopacy and two interpretations of the statute. One of these exalts the episcopacy in its relations to the General Conference and takes high ground for prerogative; the other magnifies the relative authority of the Conference.

The former party hold that this Restrictive Rule was designed by the Conference of 1808 to maintain not only an "itinerant general superintendency," but also that peculiar style of episcopacy which the Church then possessed, including all the powers and functions thereof, and all the rites and usages connected therewith. That episcopacy, which the fathers knew and approved, and which they had created, it was their wish to perpetuate.

The episcopacy as it was in 1808, with every form of authorization and recognition, with every attribute of authority and responsibility, must remain unchanged and unchangeable, except

by the consenting action of the preachers in the Annual Conferences.

In harmony with this construction, it is claimed that the tenure of office in the episcopacy is a life tenure; that the right to fix the appointments of the preachers, and to choose the presiding elders, inheres in the Bishops; that to the Bishops belongs the exclusive authority to ordain; that a service of consecration to the office is inseparable from it; and that the General Conference is the only body competent to elect Bishops. All this, it is claimed, is guaranteed by the third Restrictive Rule, inasmuch as this was the status of the episcopacy in 1808. This was the intention of the Rule, and its language justifies this interpretation.

On the other hand, it is argued by those who take a different view of the matter, that the General Conference of 1808 intended to give large discretional powers to the delegated Conference; that this new body was made the successor of the old imperial Conference, and that it was endowed with all the authority exercised formerly, barring certain specified restrictions. Those restrictions must be interpreted strictly, and in consonance with the commanding place which the General Conference had always held in the Church. The new Conference, says Bishop Harris ("Powers," etc., page 24), "was the legitimate successor of the one of 1808, and it succeeded to all the powers of its predecessors except in so far as those powers were pared down by the limiting terms of the constitution."

In reading the Restrictive Rule the emphasis belongs, not to the word "plan," but to the phrase "itinerant general superintendency." The word "plan" must be related to what follows it, and derives all its significance therefrom, as illustrated in the following sentence quoted from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 (Journal of General Conference, 1844, page 156):

"Having noticed in what the superintendency chiefly consists, it is proper to observe that the plan of its operation is *general, embracing the whole work in connectional order, and not diocesan, or sectional.*" The italics are copied from the Journal. Additional light as to the intended significance of this word "plan" comes from the fact that an earnest attempt was made at the Conference of 1808 to establish a

diocesan episcopacy. A measure was proposed by M'Claskey and Cooper

to elect a Bishop for each Annual Conference, as a substitute for the presiding eldership, with Asbury as general superintendent. "It was largely and ably discussed," says Dr. Bangs, "by some of the leading members of the Conference on each side." There must have been a considerable party in favor of it, for when M'Claskey and Cooper proposed to withdraw their motion for it, a majority refused their request. But after much discussion it was defeated.*

Here, then, we have the two views and the two interpretations. They are both intelligible and lawful, and the loyalty of one who takes either side must not be questioned; and yet the history of the Church, and the opinions of the great leaders of the Church in its critical epochs, seem to favor the view which concedes considerable authority to the General Conference in its relations to the episcopacy.

In the first place, the argument that the Rule maintains inviolable whatever existed in our episcopacy in 1808 proves too much; for if it be valid, it enjoins not only that nothing be taken from, but also that nothing be added to, the functions of the Bishops by action of General Conference. But the Church has frequently witnessed the increase of episcopal functions by action of the General Conference, and always with satisfaction. For example, in 1816 the General Conference committed to the Bishops the great responsibility of preparing "a course of study" for candidates for the ministry; in 1844 they were ordered to prepare a course for candidates for orders, which should extend over four years. By this act of the Conference the Bishops are enabled to keep their hand on the theology of the Church, and to shape the opinions of its ministry. Are there any among us prepared to say that during seventy years our Bishops have been acting in violation of the constitution? And yet no such office as this is assigned to them in the organic law, nor did they ever exercise it prior to 1816.

Again, in 1840 the General Conference authorized the Bishops "to decide all questions of law in an Annual Conference, subject to an appeal to the General Conference." In 1872 the Conference limited this duty to "law questions pending in an

*Stevens's Life of Dr. Bangs, p. 172.

Annual Conference." But the Bishops had no such prerogative in 1808, for then they voted, spoke, and made motions on the floor of the Conference as members.

The constitution found the Bishops among the law-makers, it deprived them of those functions, and in 1840 the General Conference conferred upon them the judicial function of making law-decisions in an Annual Conference.

It is plain, therefore, that the *status quo* of the episcopacy since 1808 has been changed again and again. Besides, while the supremacy of the General Conference prior to 1808 was always recognized, it is a notable fact that during the same years the functions of the episcopacy were frequently changed. For example, Bishop Hedding declares that "the power with which the Bishops are invested was formerly much greater than it is now; it being thought best, by the General Conference, to transfer part of it from time to time either to the elders or to the laity." The Bishop goes on to show that they had "power to negative any election of superintendent, elder, or deacon, and to prevent any preacher from printing any thing which they did not approve; that they also could decide the cases of preachers and people who should appeal to them, and were judge whether they should be expelled from, or retained in, the Church."*

In view of this "logic of facts" it must be looked upon as hardihood to affirm that the Church is bound to maintain the episcopacy just as it existed when the delegated Conference was instituted. The General Conference has always exercised a regulative authority over the Bishops, and doubtless it will continue to do so in the future. The following, from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1840, adds light to the question now before us:

> The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is peculiarly constructed. It is widely different from our civil organization. The General Conference is the only legislative body recognized in our ecclesiastical system, and *from it originates the authority of the entire executive administration.*†

At the same Conference, on the occasion of a tie vote, Bishop Hedding was in the chair, and was called upon to give the casting vote. He knew this had been done in several instances

* Hedding's "Discourse on Discipline," p. 9.

† Journal General Conference, 1840, p. 139.

when there was a tie in the General Conference, but it was the first time he had ever been called upon to exercise this function.

Hedding refused to give the vote, being, as he held, precluded by the constitution.*

The great speech of L. L. Hamline in 1844 made him Bishop, and expressed the sentiments of the loyal majority that thereafter constituted the Church. For mastery of the economy of Methodism and for logical conclusiveness that speech has never been surpassed in the great debates of the Church. We make but a single quotation:

That the Conference has executive authority is indisputable. For the Bishop derives his authority from the Conference. Are not answers *first*, ["to preside in our Conferences,"] *second*, ["to form the districts according to his judgment,"] *third*, ["to fix the appointments of the preachers,"] and *eighth*, ["to decide all questions of law, etc.,"] to question third, in section fourth, statutory provisions? Do they not convey authority to the Bishops? If those answers were blotted out by a resolution of this Conference, would the Bishops proceed to execute the duties therein prescribed? This General Conference clothes them with these powers; and can the Conference convey what it does not possess? Can it impart to Bishops what was not inherent in itself up to the time of conveying it? The Conference has these powers. Every thing conveyed as a prerogative to Bishops, presiding elders, preachers, etc., by statutory provision, and not by the constitution or in the Restrictive Rules, was in the General Conference, or it was mockery thus to grant it, and the tenure of these officers is void, and their *seizin* tortuous. †

But a more authoritative utterance than Hamline's speech was the "Reply to the Protest" of the Southern preachers, prepared by order of the Conference by a committee of which Dr. John P. Durbin was chairman. We quote a single paragraph:

Bishop Emory—a man of whom it is no injustice to the living or the dead to say, that he was a chief ornament and light of our episcopacy; that he brought to the investigation of all ecclesiastical subjects a cool, sagacious, powerful, practical intellect—fully sustains the positions we have assumed in behalf of the powers of the General Conference over the Bishops of our Church. He gives an unqualified assent to the following passages from the notes to the Discipline, prepared by Bishops Asbury and Coke at the request of the General Conference: "They (our Bishops) are entirely dependent on the General Conference;" "their *power*,

* Clark's Life of Hedding, p. 556. † General Conference Journal, 1844.

their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference."*

Let us consider the office of stationing the preachers, and inquire whether the Church has recognized this office as inhering exclusively, under the constitution, in the episcopacy. As a matter of fact the Bishops always "fixed the appointments" of the preachers. This they did from the organization of the Church; and their predecessors, Wesley's "assistants," did it before them. But it is to be noted that authority was committed to them by statute for this work, and also that the General Conference has always made rules to regulate the pastoral term, thus putting restrictions on the Bishop's authority in the matter. In 1804 the Bishops were ordered to remove a preacher who had been two years on a charge. In 1864 the pastoral term was lengthened to three years. In 1792 the General Conference ordered the Bishops to change presiding elders after four years. These regulations were a limitation of the authority of the Bishops, and it has never been questioned that the General Conference has authority to make them. But if the Conference is competent to say that the Bishop shall move a preacher after two years, it is also competent to say that he shall not move him inside two years, or four years, or ten years; or that he shall not move him at all. And this was Hamline's view when he declared that if the General Conference "blotted out by a resolution" the "statutory provision" which enjoins the Bishops to fix the appointments, the office of making the appointments would cease from the episcopacy.

Similar reasoning may be applied to the presiding eldership. In 1792 an elder was limited to four years on a district; in 1844 the qualification was added, "after which he shall not be appointed to the same district for six years; in 1872 the Conference authorized the Bishop to appoint presiding elders in Mission Conferences for more than four years.

The power to make these regulations implies a power to control the eldership; for it will not be claimed that this is "clearly excepted by the enumerated restrictions" of the constitution. As a question of fact, the General Conference has always prescribed the duties of presiding elders. This the

* Journal of General Conference, 1844, pp. 235, 236.

Conference has done by passing what Hamline calls "statutory provisions;" but this is a fact which logically carries with it complete control of the office, even to its existence. They may eliminate it from our system if they choose, and secure the needed supervision by an increase of the number of Bishops.

We proceed to another question, and inquire where the power resides for choosing presiding elders. It is claimed, that the history of the enactment of the third Restrictive Rule proves that the framers of the constitution committed the appointment of presiding elders to the Bishops as a prerogative of the episcopacy. Let us carefully consider this question. The argument for the case is as follows: In the General Conference of 1808, on May 16, the Committee of Fourteen presented their report on a constitution for a delegated General Conference. On the same day (we copy from the Journal, p. 83):

Moved by Ezekiel Cooper, and seconded by Joshua Wells, to postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject. Carried.

Moved by Ezekiel Cooper, and seconded by Joshua Wells, the following restriction, namely:

Resolved, That in the fifth section of Discipline, after the question, By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen? the answer shall be: "Ans. 1st. Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders."

Two days later, after much debate, Cooper's resolution was rejected by a vote *taken by ballot:* ayes, 52; nays, 73. On the same day John M'Claskey, who favored an elective eldership, moved that the vote on the committee's report be taken by ballot. This was ordered. Then the first resolution of the report was put to vote and it was rejected: ayes, 57; nays, 64.

Cooper wanted an elective eldership, and it is quite probable that his influence caused the defeat of the committee's report. This result caused great dissatisfaction among those who were desiring a delegated Conference.

Asbury and the other chief advocates of the measure* were profoundly afflicted by this result. The New England and most of the Western members, who had been sent by election, as representatives of their distant Conferences, which could not generally attend, retired, and threatened to return home. Consulta-

*Stevens's History, vol. iv, p. 440.

tions ensued, and four days later the question was again resumed by motions of George, Roszel, Soule, Pickering, and Lee. On the 24th the report of the committee was substantially adopted, "*almost unanimously.*"

The words "almost unanimously" are taken from Bangs's History. The report of the Committee did not come before the Conference again, but in a fragmentary way most of its provisions were adopted. The third Restrictive Rule was adopted as presented in the report (Journal, p. 88).

From these facts it is concluded that the Conference, in adopting the third Rule after the defeat of Cooper's resolution, purposed to commit, and did actually commit, the office of choosing presiding elders inalienably and exclusively to the Bishops under the constitution. This is the *pièce de résistance* of those who take that view of the case, and that there is force in the reasoning no candid person will doubt. But the argument is not as conclusive as at first blush it seems to be. There are other facts to be considered. That Cooper, when on May 16 he made his motion to elect elders by the Annual Conferences, understood this to be the force of the third Rule may be conceded, and that others in the Conference agreed with him is quite probable, but it is by no means certain that all who finally, on May 24, voted for that rule, put Cooper's construction on it.

During those eight days great excitement and much controversy had reigned. It is a significant fact that the man who brought forward and moved the Rule on May 24, Jesse Lee, was one of the stanchest supporters of an elective eldership—"the advocate of an elective presiding eldership from first to last, and all the time." It is also a significant fact that Ezekiel Cooper, one of the foremost men of Methodism, from whose action this argument is drawn, was not deterred by the Rule from subsequent efforts to carry an elective eldership, for we find him in the Conference of 1820 in the leadership of the movement. And it is equally significant that the rule was adopted "almost unanimously," as Bangs informs us. Are we bound to conclude that the large minority who favored an elective eldership, including such men as Bangs, Ostrander, Lee, and Hedding, had concluded to surrender their judgments and hopes, and had consented to bury them under the third

Restrictive Rule, or may we believe that they put a different construction on the Rule from the one which lay in the mind of Soule and M'Kendree? They were not only clear-minded but very conscientious men; and if we find them, after the adoption of the Rule, still persisting in their efforts to establish an elective eldership by authority of the delegated Conference, we are bound to come to the conclusion that they did not understand the Rule in that way. And this is precisely what we find to have been the case. They did not relinquish their efforts for an elective eldership, but continued them with unrelenting energy, and came within *three votes* of being successful in the next General Conference.

In the Conference of 1812 Laban Clark, who favored an elective eldership, brought the question up under a resolution. On the second day of the debate Nicholas Snethen "moved the following amendment:"

Provided, always, that the Bishops shall have the power to nominate them; and if the first nomination is not ratified by a majority of the Annual Conference, the Bishop shall proceed to nominate till a choice is made; and in all cases each nomination shall be determined separately, by ballot, without debate.

The amendment was lost: ayes, 39; nays, 43. On the afternoon of the same day the vote was taken on the original motion of Laban Clark; this also was lost: ayes, 42; nays, 45. A change of two votes would have carried the measure. Of the 90 men who composed that Conference of 1812, at least 44 of them had been members of the Conference of 1808, and among those 44 were the following eminent men, all of whom believed that an elective eldership was not forbidden by the third Restrictive Rule: Enoch George, Elijah Hedding, Freeborn Garrettson, Jesse Lee, Nathan Bangs, Asa Shinn, Daniel Ostrander, Laban Clark, and Stephen G. Roszel. Those men had voted on the constitution, and they were as competent to comprehend the force of the Restrictive Rules as were Joshua Soule and William M'Kendree. It is impossible to believe that such men as these would have persisted in an attempt to carry a measure which was unconstitutional, or which was even of doubtful constitutionality. Every one of the thirty-three delegates from the New York, Philadelphia, and Genesee Conferences favored the measure; and to the above list of eminent men must be added

the names of other distinguished leaders of the early Church who not only believed that an elective eldership was constitutional, but who also labored to secure it to the Church. Among these was that "chief ornament and light of our episcopacy," John Emory, who must be judged competent to handle a constitutional question; also Nicholas Snethen, who according to good authority (M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, Snethen) was the author of the plan of the delegated Conference, and may therefore be supposed to understand it; also Beverly Waugh, Timothy Merritt, George Peck, Samuel Merwin, Joshua Wells, William Capers, George Pickering, Thomas Ware, William Phœbus, and Aaron Hunt. Against the united testimony of those distinguished fathers of our Church no amount of technical reasoning will avail, while dissertations on the significance of the word "plan" in the Rule must be equally inconclusive. All that is really proved by the defeat of Cooper's resolution in the Conference of 1808 is, that the Conference was not prepared to transfer the power of choosing elders from the Bishops to the Annual Conferences; for if we go beyond this, and affirm that all who voted for the third Restrictive Rule purposed to commit, and did deliberately vote to commit, by organic law, the appointment of presiding elders to the Bishops, we reflect upon the honor and slander the memory of many of the brightest names of Methodism. It will not do to say that Joshua Soule drew up the third Rule, and knew his own purpose in framing it. Those other men were his peers, and as original actors in adopting the constitution they were not bound to take their law from a fellow member. And if it be urged that M'Kendree and Soule were on the Committee of Fourteen in 1808, who drafted the Constitution, the reply is, that Cooper, Lee, and Roszel, were also on that committee.

Besides, if it be said that the defeat of Cooper's resolution, on 16th May, compels us to construe the third Restrictive Rule so as to protect the right of the Bishops to choose the elders, it is sufficient to reply that the adverse vote on adopting the constitution, taken immediately after, showed that the Conference would not accept such a construction, and that the friends of an elective eldership were able to defeat its adoption if that were the only interpretation which could be given to the Rule. But during the eight days that intervened between the

adverse vote and the enacting vote they saw that their cause was in no way forestalled by the Rule, and that the question would lie with the Conference as it had always done. This view of the case is demanded by the fact that the friends of an elective eldership led in the adoption of the Rule, and also that they advocated their cause in later Conferences.

Dr. Bangs tells us that

> after it was decided that the presiding elders should continue to be appointed as heretofore by the Bishops, on Wednesday, 18th, the consideration of the report was resumed, and after debate the entire report was rejected by a majority of seven votes.*

We have already quoted Bangs to the effect that the report on May 24th was adopted "almost unanimously;" on page 233 he employs the word "unanimity," in describing the vote. These terms compel the belief that but few votes were cast against the resolutions when they were adopted. We are specific and particular on this point, for the nucleus of this whole controversy of constitutionality lies just here, namely, in the construction which the men who voted for the third Rule put upon their own act. The intention of the men who voted for the Rule is the intention of the Rule. And we find, as matter of fact, that a friend of an elective eldership moved its adoption; and in a Conference where 52 out of 125 were pronounced friends of an elective eldership only a few votes were cast against it; and, indeed, there is no proof that any friend of the proposed change voted against it.

But the matter did not end with the defeat of 1812. The friends of an elective eldership resumed their efforts in 1816, and during six days, through eight sittings, the battle was fought. The aggressive leaders in this Conference were S. Merwin, N. Bangs, D. Ostrander, and J. Emory.

Surely these were not men to prosecute an unconstitutional measure. Two of them were members of the Conference of 1808, and all of them were masters in the history and law of the Church. At this Conference Enoch George, a friend of the measure, was chosen Bishop. For the resolutions proposed, see Journal, pages 135, 140. The votes were 42 for, 60 against; and 38 for, 63 against.

The battle which was lost in 1816 was resumed and won in

* History, vol. ii, p. 231.

1820. On the 15th of May, T. Merritt and B. Waugh introduced the following:

Moved, that the answer "by the Bishops" in the fifth section of the Discipline be stricken out, and the following answer substituted: "By the Annual Conferences."

This was the identical resolution which Cooper proposed in 1808. It is plain that Bishop Waugh did not think that the matter had been settled. On the 17th Cooper and Emory submitted the following:

Resolved, That the Bishop, or the president of each Annual Conference, shall ascertain the number of presiding elders wanted, and shall nominate three times the number, out of which nominations the Conference shall, without debate, elect by ballot the presiding elders.

Two days later a committee was appointed, on motion of N. Bangs and Wm. Capers, to prepare a plan "that would conciliate the wishes of the brethren upon the subject." The committee was ordered, as follows: Cooper, Roszel Bangs, J. Wells, Emory, and Capers. The Journal gives the following history of the case (page 221):

Leave was asked by the chairman of the committee, Brother Cooper, appointed yesterday *to confer with the Bishops* on the subject relating to the election of presiding elders, to report. Leave being given, he made the following:

The committee appointed to confer with the Bishops on a plan to conciliate the wishes of the brethren on the subject of choosing presiding elders, recommend to the Conference the adoption of the following resolutions, to be inserted in their proper place in our Discipline:

Resolved, 1, That whenever, in any Annual Conference, there shall be a vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder, in consequence of his period of service of four years having expired, or the Bishop wishing to remove any presiding elder, or by death, resignation, or otherwise, the Bishop or president of the Conference, having ascertained the number wanted from any of these causes, shall nominate three times the number, out of which the Conference shall elect by ballot, without debate, the number wanted: *provided*, when there is more than one wanted not more than three at a time shall be nominated, nor more than one at a time elected: *provided*, also, that in case of any vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in the interval of any Annual Conference, the Bishop shall have authority to fill the said vacancy or vacancies until the ensuing Annual Conference.

Resolved, 2, That the presiding elders be, and hereby are, made

the advisory counsel of the Bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers.

Signed by all the Committee.

The first resolution being read, the question was taken on it and carried—61 to 25. The question was taken on the second resolution as amended, with the consent of the committee. Carried. The question was taken on their final passage, and carried.

The committee was then ordered to incorporate the resolutions in "the section of the Discipline relating to presiding elders." The vote was more than a two thirds majority. These resolutions, called in the history of the controversy "the compromise resolutions," gave great offense to M'Kendree and Soule.

Bishop Roberts seems not to have been opposed to them, and Bishop George defended them. Bishop M'Kendree wrote in his journal: "The senior Bishop (that is, himself) disapproved of the proposed change; the other two were favorable to some change, the extent not pointed out." Before taking the final vote Soule had been elected Bishop, but so great was his opposition to the resolutions that he sent in his resignation, which was with reluctance accepted by the Conference.

Joshua Soule was one of the great men of the Church, and his unselfish devotion and great service had won for him the affection and confidence of his brethren. They had just elected him Bishop. His refusal to accept the office created deep concern. Many fancied they saw the beginning of the dissolution of the Church, for the presiding elder war had been growing fiercer through a period of a score of years. In view of these things an effort was made to reconsider the resolutions on the eldership, but the friends of the measure would not yield. Then a motion was made and carried to suspend their execution for four years. The intense excitement of the occasion is detailed in Bishop Paine's "Life of M'Kendree."

The attitude assumed toward the General Conference by the senior Bishop, and also by the Bishop-elect, is a most extraordinary one, and prefigured the attitude of Bishops Andrew and Soule and the Southern preachers in the rebellion of 1844. The position of M'Kendree in his "Address to the Annual

Conferences," * that he "could not submit or give up the powers he possessed as General Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the disposal of your representatives" (the General Conference), is the attitude of Bishop Andrew in 1844.

The Bishop boldly declared that he would not execute the resolutions on the eldership, and also that he was not bound by any acts of the General Conference which he judged unconstitutional. In such a case he would appeal to the Annual Conferences, which, he said, "were the proper judges of constitutional questions."

The Bishop-elect took the same attitude of insubordination to the Conference. He wrote to the Bishops who were about to consecrate him, "I solemnly declare that I cannot act as Superintendent under the rules this day made and established." And yet he consented to be consecrated, and the Bishops were agreed to perform the service, two of them hoping that after his ordination he would obey the laws of the Church, but M'Kendree hoping that he "would resist," and aid him in opposing the execution of the resolutions.

When these things were brought out in the Conference, so great was the opposition to the position taken by the Bishop-elect that he presented his resignation.

But the resolutions had been suspended for four years. Afterward Bishop M'Kendree prepared a formidable Address to the Annual Conferences,† in which he argued that the suspended resolutions were unconstitutional, and, instead of taking the rest from labor which the Conference had granted him, he appeared at the Annual Conferences and defended the cause of his Address. The issue was drawn; the Church must submit or impeach the venerable Bishop. And yet his course in thus attempting to control the legislation of the Church and resist the General Conference finds no warrant in the Discipline. It belongs to an epoch of administration that ended with the secession in 1844. But the great influence of the Bishop, whose conscientious devotion to the Church all admired, finally prevailed, and seven of the twelve Annual Conferences declared the resolutions unconstitutional. The other five, being the leading Conferences of the Church, laid the Bishop's Address on the table, and refused to consider it.

* Life, vol. i, p. 456. † *Ibid.*, p. 444.

This action of M'Kendree in appealing from the General Conference to the Annual Conferences is in striking contrast to the administration of the Bishops some years later on the slavery question. Bishop Hedding, in the New England and New Hampshire Conferences in 1836, refused to put motions which seemed to conflict with the Pastoral Address of the General Conference of the same year. In explaining his course Bishop Hedding said: "I have uniformly acknowledged my responsibility to the General Conference, *whose agent I am.*" * "We (the Bishops) have always practiced setting aside such motions or resolutions (in Annual Conferences) as we supposed unconstitutional."† In the New Hampshire Conference, in 1838, Bishop Morris refused to put a motion because in his judgment "it approved what the General Conference had condemned." That the general judgment and administration of the Church in this matter has been with Hedding and against M'Kendree there can be no question.

In the Conference of 1824 the suspended resolutions were permitted to remain still suspended, and were passed on as "unfinished business" to the Conference of 1828. A resolution in the Conference of 1824, that the resolutions "are not of authority" because "a majority of the Annual Conferences have judged them unconstitutional," was passed to its third reading, but as it failed to secure a third vote (which was a regulation of that Conference) it went over to the next General Conference. In 1828 a motion to declare the resolutions unconstitutional was set aside by the following "substitute offered by William Winans and William Capers:"

Resolved, That the resolutions commonly called the Suspended Resolutions, rendering the presiding elders elective, and which were referred to this Conference by the last General Conference as unfinished business, and reported to us at this Conference, be, and the same are hereby, rescinded and made void.

This ended the war. It is to be noted that no General Conference ever declared an elective presiding eldership unconstitutional, while the Conference of 1820 proclaimed the opposite doctrine by more than a two thirds majority, and all the most eminent leaders of the early Church, and authorities in Methodist law, with the exceptions of M'Kendree

* Life of Hedding, p. 511. † *Ibid.*, p. 498.

and Soule, were on the popular side in this controversy. That some of those leaders, from considerations of expediency, subsequently changed their minds as to the wisdom of an elective eldership has not the slightest significance or bearing on the question here examined. We are not arguing a question of expediency, but a question of law.

It is well worth observing that in all these constitutional wars the southern portion of the Church were the "high-church" party, and stanch defenders of episcopal prerogative. This fact was conspicuous in the Conference of 1844, where those views were elaborated and afterwards crystallized in the "Protest" of the Southern delegates.

The answer of the Church to these pretensions was the speech of Hamline and the "Reply to the Protest," from which we have already made quotations. So in the eldership controversy Bishops M'Kendree and Soule, backed by the South, were the champions of high prerogative, while the strength of the reform movement was chiefly in the North. The Southern interpretation of the Church's constitution is succinctly stated by Bishop Paine, of the Church South, in his Life of M'Kendree (p. 416):

> Originally the itinerant preachers exercised unrestrained powers; but they saw proper in their wisdom to constitute a delegated General Conference, invested with such powers as the preachers collectively deemed necessary to perform the duties assigned it. *Their powers were expressed. What is not expressed is consequently withheld.*

But a view diametrically opposite to this has ruled in the Church North, and is correctly given by Bishop Harris, in his work on "The Powers of the General Conference" (p. 22):

> There is not here (in the grant of powers) a delegation of enumerated powers accompanied by a general reservation, as in the Federal Government, but a delegation of general and sweeping powers under enumerated and well-defined restrictions.

[Further views on the general subject will be presented in another paper.]

Art. III. — CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

Our endeavor, in this paper, is to emphasize the distinction between Christian and secular education, to exhibit the failure to recognize adequately this distinction, and to suggest some measures for improvement. We use the word education solely in its technical sense, referring to the training of the schools. A conflict which has, probably, only begun in this country, is over the question of Christian and secular schools. The struggle between Christianity and secularism presents no phase more important than this. Additional interest comes from the fact that Christian people are not precisely a unit with regard to the issue.

Between the two styles of training in question there is large superficial resemblance—and misleading resemblance. Both aim at culture in certain special directions. These directions are largely the same. The same studies, in the main, are pursued at Ithaca or Ann Arbor as at Middletown or Princeton. This fact is liable to mislead, and doubtless does mislead, many in reaching their practical conclusions. But these external similarities are not of chief interest. Other points we may find, upon examination, exhibiting the strongest and most vital contrasts.

The distinction is fundamental. It relates, first of all, to the ultimate end of education. What is education for? That is a most pertinent and essential question certainly, and one that ought not to be lost sight of at any point in educational processes. To this question Christianity gives a definite answer; an answer not formal, nevertheless weighty and exact. Secularism gives a variety of conflicting answers. The confusion which reigns over the human mind when it separates itself from God appears in the chaos of secular educational theories. For the purpose of easy inspection we may name and arrange these theories as follows: 1. The Popular, "the bread and butter," theory. 2. The theory of Secular Statesmanship. 3. That of Intellectualism. 4. That of Philosophic Utilitarianism. The first is the crude theory floating in the popular mind: education is to help in getting a living; to make living easy, comfortable, and possibly luxurious. The second theory holds

that education is for the public good. It is not a mere private advantage, but a public necessity. The third rings the changes upon the word "culture." Knowledge and intellectual development form the supreme end. The fourth theory, that of Philosophic Utilitarianism, is the best that secular thought has ever given. Herbert Spencer stands as its representative. He says, "How to live? that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense, . . . how to live completely. And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is by consequence the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge." This general statement is exceedingly beautiful. We may be inclined to pronounce it faultless. But it is general. Under this beautiful mask is agnosticism of the most unqualified type. Mr. Spencer tells us later what "complete living" is, as he regards it. He enters formally and methodically into the work. He gives a detailed list of "the leading activities which constitute human life." But nowhere do we find the slightest hint that man has a religious nature. Not even among those "activities" which he regards as least in importance, "those making up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of tastes and feelings," does he find any place for an act of worship, or for any endeavor to satisfy the great "hunger and thirst" of the human heart. His "complete living" appears, in the light of all history, exceedingly incomplete. His theory as to the purpose of education, then, foots up in this: to prepare us for "complete living" with the supreme fact of life left out.

These theories are, of course, in some measure correct. But they have the vicious quality of half-truths, or less than half truths. And that makes their consideration somewhat difficult, especially when we undertake to compare them with the Christian theory. One is almost compelled to indulge in truisms or to run the risk of seeming to deny what every body should be ready to admit.

> "A lie that is all a lie
> May be met and fought with outright;
> But a lie that is half a lie
> Is a harder matter to fight."

The Christian theory of education is necessarily implied in the Christian conception of human life. We may accept Mr.

Spencer's statement, that education is to prepare us for "complete living;" but we must learn from Christ what "complete living" is. "Man shall not live by bread alone." He must have bread, but he needs even more the "word which proceedeth from the mouth of God." He has intellect and taste, but also conscience. His highest attainment is goodness. He is a citizen of an earthly state, but also a subject of the kingdom of God. His "activities" upon the earth are largely preliminary and preparatory. He is to live forever in the world to come.

Education should therefore be in the largest sense liberal. It should make the man self-supporting, acquainting him with practical measures for comfortable and beautiful living. It should prepare him for citizenship. It should make him, it may be, a man of letters, or a scientist, or an artist. But it should go further. It should strengthen and broaden his faith in God. It should sharpen his appreciation for spiritual realities. It should furnish him with a just conception of human life; its needs, possibilities, and obligations. It should deepen in his mind the distinction between right and wrong. It should strengthen his conviction of those truths which surround right with its most impressive sanctions.

Any system of general education that does not accomplish this, Christianity must pronounce a failure. Any system that puts obstacles in the way of this, is a perversion. The Christian conception of life is so unlike the secular, so far above and beyond it, that it justly claims recognition in every measure that has to do with the shaping of life; and, therefore, recognition as far as possible at every step in educational processes.

But how far is education actually Christian? To what extent do the schools recognize "complete living" as the end they should help to serve? To go no further than our own country, we have an immense and most interesting field for investigation. We have systems of public instruction. We have schools and academies in large numbers, supported by private enterprise, or by the various religious denominations. We have, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1881, 362 colleges and universities, regularly chartered and authorized to confer degrees. (And it might be added, that their power to confer degrees is operated pretty effectively.) We have on an average throughout the United States one

college or university to every piece of territory one hundred miles square. Many of these institutions, it is true, have names ridiculously out of proportion with their real character. And yet they are doing a valuable work, and are destined to increase in influence. At all events, the educational enterprises of our country deserve the most careful study, and especially from those who have the progress of Christianity at heart.

Such a study will reveal, no doubt, in all, or nearly all, these institutions the existence of features of noteworthy excellence. In many instances, however, there will be discovered a conspicuous lack of harmony between the end proposed and the means employed; a lack of coherent, well-applied educational theory. And still further, and this is for us now the main point, there must appear a failure quite general to recognize properly the place that belongs to distinctively Christian teaching. For proof and illustration we may look, first, to our public schools. They have undeniable merits. They have, at least, the virtue of a good intention, the elevation, in some sense, of the multitudes. They have been sources of good to millions of our population. Still, it may be fairly questioned whether their defects are not nearly as great as their merits. The root-evil is a lack of correct, well-applied educational theory. The theory that underlies them is narrow and incomplete; and even this is poorly applied. Are our public schools to be regarded as means employed by the State for its own protection? Is the end "to prepare youth for citizenship?" That theory is commendable as far as it goes. Here is the all-sufficient warrant for public education, perhaps its only warrant. But if that is the end sought, then the means are certainly inadequate to the end; they often lose sight of the end. Ignorance is not the only enemy of the State, nor the greatest. And in styles of ignorance as well as of knowledge there is room for choice. One of the first requisites of citizenship is self-support. This being the case, it is plain that industrial training, especially in our large cities, should receive public attention. It would receive attention if public instruction paid half the heed to the evils of loaferism that it pays to those of illiteracy. With respect to a certain class of embryo citizens the State confronts two alternatives: either to teach

them some sort of productive labor in schools or to teach them in prison. Our public schools are defective, also, with respect to moral training; and strangely, illogically defective with respect to certain features of morality most obviously essential to safe citizenship. For example, public instruction should raise a barrier against drunkenness. Compulsory temperance-education laws have been enacted in three of the States, namely, Vermont, Michigan, and New Hampshire. It may safely be assumed that other States need them. The difficulty will be to make other States see the need. There is not the slightest occasion, in teaching this item of morality, for raising the bugaboo of sectarianism. But for this morsel of improvement temperance advocates are obliged to plead, and probably will be obliged to plead for time to come. There are also certain items of political morality that would seem most proper to be put into the minds of American youths, such as the sacredness of official trust and of the ballot. If the end of public instruction is "to prepare for citizenship," the impression should be made as early and as deeply as possible that to give or to take bribes is as detestable as theft or arson. The only explanation that can be given for such omissions is, that such instruction comes under the head of morals, and from moral instruction our public school systems have in the main held themselves aloof. And the reason of this? Is it presumed that other agencies will supply the lack? We will look to the home. But from what kind of homes do many of our embryo citizens come? Shall we depend upon the Sunday-school and the Church? With many the Church and Sunday-school have no opportunity whatever. It is said to be impracticable to teach morality in the public schools because of its relation to religion. But here is the question. It may be delicate and difficult and yet practicable. We submit the question, Would it be impracticable to prepare and use a text-book especially adapted to this purpose? Quite likely such a work would be incomplete. No doubt it would be impossible to please all sects and parties. Still, possibly a work might be arranged that would be acceptable and useful to the great body of the people.

But this is "not American;" not "in accordance with the genius of American institutions." That is often said with an

air that implies finality. But that settles nothing. The words "American" and "right" are not synonyms. In the "Contemporary Review" for November, 1882, an article appeared from Jules Simon, upon "Public Education in France." He says:

> But now we must secularize; it is the will of a few deputies who are declaiming in Paris against religious faith. Quick! Drive away the monks, call in the new master! And liberty of conscience, what about that? They tell us, when we are all reduced, by the absence of any free schools at all, to send our children to the communal schools, we need not be alarmed, for they have with the most minute and zealous care eliminated all that could wound the most delicate conscience. The child will see there neither priest nor rabbi, neither Bible nor crucifix. He will not be allowed to utter a prayer nor to make the sign of the cross. From his carefully chosen school-books religious dogma and legend will be alike excluded. In the old time we used to have in the schools those little books of sacred history which opened with the words, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." We have done away with these little books now. The children will hear no more talk of the creation or God, or even of a beginning. In one word, the school they will have to learn in will be strictly neutral. This is what they tell us by way of consolation. *They forget that it is not God we are afraid of, it is Nihilism.*

On this side of the Atlantic we have need to take the hint. It would be well if we were less afraid of God, less afraid of Romanism, and more afraid of Nihilism. We have been so much afraid of being too religious, so much afraid that Rome will do something terrible, that we have largely lost sight of the danger of educating a generation without faith and respect for righteousness.

Leaving now our public schools, we find some things especially worthy of note in our institutions for higher education upon a purely secular basis. In the "North American Review" of June, 1883, in an article upon "Present Aspects of College Training," President Gilman speaks of such institutions as "a reaction against innumerable denominational colleges," and says: "They are usually governed by good men, so that a student in any one of them perceives very little difference, if any, in the ethical and religious influences by which he is surrounded from those which encompass his friend in a denominational college." He says this is "usually" the case.

This may be true, but if so, it implies no very high compliment to our denominational colleges.

But it may not be difficult to find exceptions. Is there not more than one institution the managers and friends of which boast its freedom from all "tradition," from "sectarianism," from religion? "There are unhappy times in the world's history," says Carlyle, "when he that is least educated will chiefly have it to say, he is least perverted." Says St. James, "This wisdom cometh not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish."

The attempt to manage colleges upon a purely secular basis is perilous while it exists, but in the end will be quite likely to defeat itself. It is a fact of no small significance that college preaching has recently been established at Cornell. Plainly it was felt that undiluted secularism could not be borne, and therefore various eminent clergymen are invited in, from time to time, to help them out of their dilemma. It is not at all surprising that the one-sided character of the education furnished by secular colleges has aroused anxious inquiry on the part of thinking men. President Gilman, while giving the commendation above quoted to the ethical and religious atmosphere which he says usually pervades these institutions, still recognizes a great need which, from some source, must be supplied. He says most impressively, "Never was there a time when it was more important to uphold the essentials of religion, and to encourage the formation of right moral habits, for the temptation to forget the things which are unseen is very strong."

This is very true, and the need of surrounding college life with religious influences, and of making part of the instruction distinctively religious, is correspondingly great. Let us see what is proposed to meet this great necessity. Says the same writer:

> Doubtless churches in the neighborhood of colleges will be more and more called upon, each in its own way, to undertake the religious guidance of such young men as may be brought within their influence, while college faculties will be held responsible by the public for the influence they exert upon the moral lives of those whose intellectual training they have undertaken to direct. Already, enlightened men in different parts of the country have independently come to the conclusion that in the

neighborhood of a State university, or any other non-sectarian institution, halls of residence may be founded by religious bodies, and instruction may there be given in positive religious doctrines to those who resort to the central establishment for secular learning. The Bishop of Michigan, Dr. Harris, having seen the vigor and prospects of the great foundation at Ann Arbor, has wisely directed his zeal to the building up of a collegiate hall, which shall not be in rivalry with the State University, but in cordial though informal co-operation with it, supplementing its instructions by positive religious teachings among those who are admitted to the privileges of the church home. Years ago, a similar project for surrounding the University of California with halls of residence to be provided by different churches was very nearly perfected. By some such method the new unsectarian colleges may be well supplied with positive religious instruction, while the non-denominational character of the foundation remains unimpaired.

This plan for halls of residence is remarkable for several things. And first, because it recognizes the great defect of secular colleges in their failure to provide "positive religious instruction." Second, because it is only a plan. It is not altogether new. "Years ago," it is said, in California such a "project was nearly brought to perfection." But so far as known the first brick is not laid for such a hall of residence anywhere upon the earth. Besides, it is a plan that quite likely never will be realized. And if it were put into operation, the beneficial results would be very meager. What likelihood, we may ask, is there that the Churches, with their present educational enterprises in hand, will abandon them, or divide their support between them and such a new enterprise? And how large an opportunity would this plan, if realized, actually provide for religious instruction? With a full college curriculum purely secular taxing their energies and time, students would be but poor subjects for "positive religious instruction" in halls of residence. Nothing would be possible but certain devotional exercises and sundry pious exhortations. And lastly, such an arrangement would scarcely tend to exalt, but rather to degrade, religious knowledge. Knowledge confessedly of the highest importance would be thrust into the background, and have only such opportunity as might be left after all other kinds had received attention.

Our reason for dwelling upon this to such an extent, is to show how great the defect of purely secular education is, and

how impracticable it must be to suppy the defect by external devices.

We now turn our attention to the institutions for higher education under Christian control. We omit discussion of the academies and preparatory schools under the care of the Church, for the reason that the larger part of what will be said concerning the colleges will obviously apply to the schools of lower grade. It should be said, however, that the amount of required religious study is often relatively less in the academies than in the colleges. And aside from the chapel exercises, and a few things of like sort, it might be difficult in some instances to draw the distinction between these schools and others purely and professedly secular. Upward of seventy-five per cent. of the colleges in this country are nominally Christian. To be more exact, 271 of the 362 colleges and universities are directly under the control of the religious denominations.

It is a pleasure to observe here the contrasts to secularism. These institutions are Christian in being the fruits of Christian benevolence. Within the last ten years, in this country, $61,475,000 have been given by private individuals for education. Most of this has been given by Christian men and from Christian motives. These colleges are Christian, also, in the character of the men to whom, in other respects, they owe their origin. They are the outgrowth of Christian thought and toil as well as of benevolence. How pure, how powerful, are the memories that gather around some of them! They are Christian, also, because of the earnest faith and lives of most of the instructors. With comparatively rare exceptions the professors are men of true faith and piety. They are Christian, also, in the general tinge of the instruction. Also in the fact that the college life is marked by certain religious observances, implying and nourishing the Christian faith. And lastly, in the fact that a certain measure of formal instruction is given upon subjects distinctively moral and Christian.

There is certainly a great advantage in all this; an advantage that should be preserved against the general drift toward secularity. But does not this very enumeration of Christian characteristics suggest that something more is to be desired and sought? We recur to our ideal. We ask again, "What is education for?" Again we have the answer, "To prepare us

for complete living." And again we remember what Christ tells us complete living is. Once more we are reminded that man's highest attainment is goodness, and among all kinds of knowledge, that has the highest value which ministers most directly to the spiritual part of life. Only when the Christian conception of human life is clearly and strongly before us are we prepared to ask, "Are our Christian colleges sufficiently Christian?" Is the broad distinction between Christian and secular education sufficiently recognized in the actual character and work of these institutions?

To be more specific we may ask, By what rule of right or propriety should an instructor ever be tolerated in a Christian college whose attitude is not that of reverent acceptance of the Gospel—whose faith in the great verities of Christianity is not beyond all question? One of the most remarkable utterances of the Boston Monday Lectureship was a warning sounded in the ear of college students. With mighty eloquence students were bidden to be on their guard against the influence of skeptical or unbelieving college professors. The warning was not without occasion. It is true, that by far the larger number of professors in Christian colleges are men of faith as well as of learning. But why should there ever be an exception? It is difficult to see why our professorships, in all departments, should not be as sacredly guarded against unbelief as our pulpits.

Another inquiry is suggested. Is not one of the chief requisites of college education at the present time a more thorough and systematic training in the science of Christianity? The phrase may sound strangely. But we believe it is fitting. Christianity is a proper object for scientific study. It is itself a phenomenon at least as interesting as the civilization of ancient Greece. It has performed a more important part in shaping the destinies of the world than the empire of Rome. It is at least as closely allied to human development and happiness as astronomy or geology. Christianity has a literature to which students in Christian colleges should be required to give some measure of study. Scholarship in a Christian land is shamefully deficient if it does not embrace a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, a knowledge such as the Sunday-school and even the pulpit cannot impart. Scholarship must surely

attend to the great specimens of Greek, Latin, and English literature. There should be no occasion to ask whether the Bible should not also be studied in our colleges. The inspection of our college catalogues with reference to the amount of Bible study necessary to graduation would furnish much material for reflection. The ignorance often exhibited by college graduates concerning the Bible would be ludicrous, if it were not lamentable.

Christianity has also a history—its record of achievements. It has made its definite impress upon the opinions, the convictions, the customs of civilized society. The knowledge of what Christianity has done for civilization, as well as the knowledge of its phenomenal extension, should be possessed in some considerable measure by every student before he receives his diploma.

Christianity has also its credentials. It holds a commanding attitude and position with respect to doubts and objections. If it be true, as is sometimes asserted, that the struggle with doubt which so many experience often begins in college days, it is of the largest importance that the college should give the student all possible help in the struggle.

Christianity has, moreover, its life-rules and principles—its ethics. It has also its facts of psychological significance—its inner experiences. In these various directions we have a vast range of facts to be critically weighed and scientifically treated. It is true that in most of our colleges something of this kind is done. But it is only a fraction of what is really needed.

Perhaps it is assumed that other agencies may be relied upon for conducting this part of education. But what warrant is there for such an assumption? Why might not the colleges with equal propriety leave to some outside agency instruction in political economy or history? Quite likely the Sunday-school and the pulpit are expected to be efficient in this particular direction. But with the very limited opportunity, and the exceedingly lax method of most Sunday-school work, few results beyond a popular, superficial, nevertheless useful, knowledge may be expected; and even this expectation is doomed sometimes to disappointment.

The pulpit has also, on the whole, a popular as well as varied work. It may be that more of system, more of continuity,

more of painstaking instruction, would be useful in pulpit ministrations. But it is not to be forgotten that the preacher is called upon to minister to a great diversity of minds and hearts on every public occasion; and these occasions should be in a large degree for worship and spiritual culture. The precise style and extent of teaching that is needed by young men seeking Christian scholarship is not within the function of the ministry. Providentially, the Church has not only her pulpits but her colleges; and the methodical and comprehensive treatment of religious themes required by leading minds, not possible through the more popular agencies of the Church, may be furnished through the institutions for higher education.

Of course, it is understood that the highest Christian knowledge is not to be gained from the study of books or the professor's instruction. The strongest apprehension of Christian realities can be reached only by Christian living. But it is also true that Christian learning may be a help to Christian living, just as the lack of it may be a hinderance.

It should also be understood that we do not advocate the conversion of our colleges into theological seminaries. If it were not for what Professor Bowne calls the "great power of the misunderstanding," this statement would be unnecessary. We distinctly hold that the training required by a Christian minister is one thing, and that required by a Christian scholar is another. We also hold that the training furnished by our colleges at present is not of such a sort as to furnish one of the prime essentials of Christian scholarship; that in the scheme of general instruction Christianity does not find the place which properly belongs to it.

We would add, therefore, with becoming modesty, but also with becoming emphasis, that no Christian college is thoroughly equipped that does not contain a professorship well endowed and ably manned for instruction in the science of Christianity. Such instruction should have the dignity and advantage of a distinct department. Perhaps in no way could funds be more worthily bestowed than for the founding of such professorships.

We need also a large outpouring of Christian offerings to make our educational institutions as powerful and complete and attractive as possible. Christian education should be in every sense the best. And this can be reached only by a larger

benevolence than the Church has as yet practiced, or even conceived. We need endowments for our academies as well as for our colleges. We need great universities, not merely in name but in reality, sheltering special technical schools, all under the care of the Church, to promote a learning at once thorough, symmetrical, and Christian.

The last need to be mentioned, perhaps not the last in importance, is the common need of Christendom—a deepening of spiritual life. Our institutions of learning should be, in the largest degree possible, living centers of religious power.

By no single measure, but by several—by larger attention to distinctively Christian subjects, by larger benevolence that broader schemes may be realized, by deeper piety that all may be crowned with the blessing of God—our Christian colleges may be brought to such a condition as to illustrate better than they do at present the distinction between Christian and secular education.

Whoever has found young men fresh from college, with minds awake upon a large variety of secular themes, but dull and empty and dubious with respect to subjects most vital, and has seen their ignorance rapidly ripening into unbelief; whoever has looked over society and seen the need, not merely of a learned ministry and an earnest evangelism, but of men of broad and splendid culture in heartiest sympathy with all the legitimate enterprises of the Church; and whoever has reflected upon the part that scholars hold, or should hold, in the affairs of the Church, the nation, and the world, must feel that few subjects are more worthy of attention than the one with which we have attempted to deal.

Art. IV.—CHRIST PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

Ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσάγαγῃ τῷ θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασίν ποτε ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος. 1 Peter iii, 18–20.

Because also Christ once for sins suffered, the just for the unjust, that us he might bring to God; being put to death as to the flesh (fleshwise), but made alive as to the spirit (spiritwise); in which also to the in prison spirits going, he preached (proclaimed) the disobedient at one time, when the forbearance of God waited, in the days of Noah, the ark being a preparing, through (by means of) which a few, that is, eight, were saved, by (through the agency of) water.—*Literal Rendering.*

"Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, who aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water."—*Revised Version.*

Scarcely any other passage in the New Testament presents so many and so great difficulties as that given above. It is not chiefly that it is *obscure*, so that no sense can be made of it (as are some other passages), for that is not the case; but while it plainly declares very much, it also leaves so much undetermined that it is difficult to affirm positively what is its real meaning. It is introduced somewhat parenthetically into the general course of the thought of the context. If we read directly on to the middle of the eighteenth verse, closing with the statement of Christ's death, "the righteous for the unrighteous," we find the apostle exhorting his brethren to the patient endurance of afflictions and persecutions after the example of Christ; and if then we leap forward to the twenty-second verse, the course of the thought will seem to be continuous and consecutive. That which occurs between these two points seems to be introduced as make-weights and illustrations, designed to enforce the foregoing exhortations to patient endurance. It thus has the appearance of an episode—a turning away from the direct line of thought to pursue a side line—setting forth and explaining some things somehow connected with those exemplary sufferings, or, perhaps, simply their historical

sequents, and not immediately bearing upon the matter of the preceding exhortations. Viewed in this aspect, it becomes separated in its sense from the leading thought of the discourse, and so standing by itself to be interpreted according to the natural import of the language; and if so considered, the passage, in its direct grammatical construction, presents no special difficulties.

The latter part of verse eighteen declares that Christ, having suffered physical death (*σαρκί*, fleshwise), was made (or found) alive (*πνεύματι*, spiritwise), and in that state (*ἐν ᾧ*) "he went and preached (proclaimed) to the spirits in prison." The record of these things appears to be made in the order of historical sequence. He died as to the flesh, in which state he had been living, and was alive in another state, that is, as to the spirit, or in a *pneumatical*, as contradistinction from a *physical*, state; and then he is spoken of as, in that state, "going,"—*πορευθείς*, signifying a change of place, a *proceeding*—apparently for the purpose of performing the act next designated, "preached," (*ἐκήρυξεν*), "to the spirits in prison"—*τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν*. Thus far the only question requiring to be settled is, "Who were these spirits in prison?" But out of that arises the whole difficulty of the case.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to examine more closely the language of the latter part of the eighteenth verse and the nineteenth verse. The interpretation of *σαρκί* (in the flesh) and *πνεύματι* (in the spirit), given by Alford, appears altogether satisfactory, and indeed felicitous. "It was thus, in this region, under these conditions, that the death on the cross was inflicted. His flesh, which was *living* flesh before, became *dead* flesh; Christ Jesus, the entire complex Person, consisting of body, soul, and spirit, was put to death, *σαρκί* (fleshwise), but made alive again (*ζωοποιηθείς*, quickened, raised to life), *πνεύματι* (spirit-wise).... *Quoad carnem* (as in respect to the flesh), our Lord was put to death; *quoad spiritum* (as to the [his] spirit), he was brought to life; not that the flesh *died*, and the spirit was *made alive*, but that *quoad* (as to) the flesh the Lord died, and *quoad* (as to) the spirit (his rational soul, his essential self) he was made alive (did not die). He, the God-man Christ Jesus (body and soul), ceased to live a fleshly, mortal (physiological and psychical) life, and began to live a

spiritual resurrection life. His own (human) spirit never died, as the next verse shows us." Here, too, we may introduce the language of Luther, as especially pertinent to the point in hand: "Christ by his sufferings was taken from the life which is flesh and blood, . . . and he is now placed in another life, and made alive according to the spirit (πνεύματι), has passed into a spiritual and supernatural life, which includes in itself the whole life which Christ now has, . . . so that he has no longer a *fleshly* but a *spiritual* body."

In what is here given it will be seen that we depart from the rendering of our "Authorized Version," but agree with the Revised Version, in not construing πνεύματι (verse eighteen) "by the spirit," of the Holy Ghost, which is clearly contrary to the proper grammatical sense of the word in this place. That construction is also both exegetically and theologically objectionable, for only the *mode* of the designated quickening is meant to be indicated, without any reference to the agent by whom the work was effected. Nor was that quickening the same with our Lord's resurrection from the dead, which was historically an after-affair.

This construction also gives a better significance to the first words of the next (the nineteenth) verse, ἐν ᾧ, rendered *by which* in the Authorized Version, but in the Revised Version *in which*—that is, in which form or condition of being. Nothing is here said about the agency of the Holy Spirit in the work of quickening, predicated subjectively of our Lord after his death on the cross. It is simply indicated that after the crucifixion the human soul, still living, and as an inseparable part of the God-man, in its disembodied state "went and preached," of which transaction more will be said in the sequel.

The nineteenth verse ascribes to our Lord two distinct but closely related actions, *going* and *preaching*. The former of these is the equivalent to the well-known language of the *Apostles' Creed*, "He descended *into hades*." The human soul of Christ, which departed from the body at the awful moment when "he dismissed his spirit," was at once, and by that act, brought into other conditions and environments, the passage into which sufficiently answers to the sense of the word "going" (πορευθείς), though change of *place* as well as of *condi-*

tion is not excluded, nor, indeed, improbable. The belief in the continued existence of souls after death in the disembodied state, is so nearly universally accepted by Christians that we need not stop to either assert or defend it; and the scarcely less commonly accepted opinion, that the full awards of the future state are not given immediately after death, renders necessary some idea or theory of an intermediate state; and into that state—the *hades* of the New Testament, whatever that may be—the spirit of the man Christ Jesus, he having been put to death in the flesh, must have entered; and there it was that "he preached to the spirits in prison:" and these, it would seem, were also disembodied spirits—human souls—of those who, in past ages, had died as to the flesh, and were then abiding in *hades*, "the intermediate state."

These "spirits" are spoken of as "in prison"—ἐν φυλακῇ, *in custody*—not necessarily in a place or condition of suffering, either temporal or eternal, punitive or purgatorial, but rather in a state of temporary waiting. Of this St. Peter spoke in his memorable discourse on the day of Pentecost as the place in which Christ had been, and out of which he came at his resurrection; a view of which state is also given in the parable of the rich man and the beggar. In itself, therefore, the phrase "in prison," ἐν φυλακῇ, is here simply equivalent to the "in hades" (ἐν τῷ ἅιδῃ, Luke xvi, 23), of which the resting-place of Abraham and Lazarus was a department, a portion of the great whole; the "paradise" into which Christ and the penitent thief entered on the day of the crucifixion.

His work among these "spirits in prison" is indicated by the word "preached," ἐκήρυξεν, a word which in classical Greek signifies simply proclaiming publicly, without respect to the nature of the thing set forth. In the New Testament, however, it is more commonly used in reference to the preaching of the Gospel, and therefore it has been claimed that the obvious sense of the language here used is, that our Lord, then and there, preached the Gospel with its gracious offers of salvation to "the spirits in prison," showing them what he had accomplished for them, and its purposed results—that his Messianic commission reached down to them, and that its purpose would be realized in their glorification with him; of which his resurrection, then about to be effectuated in their sight, was to

be at once the victorious achievement and the pledge of its consummation.

If we could stop at this point, there would be no special difficulty in the case. Accepting the doctrine of the ancient Church, which seems to be both scriptural and rational, that while the material body of the God-man was in the sepulcher his human soul was in *hades*, the abode of disembodied spirits, we must also suppose that he was in that particular portion of "the under world" in which the *righteous* dead repose, the "paradise" of which he spake to the penitent thief. And although he came thither in the character of a *captive*, as had all that had gone before him, his captivity was only apparent, because it was voluntary, and his accepting it was an important part of his work as the Redeemer of men. Coming thus to the faithful of the past ages who had lived and died without the sight of their Redeemer, or the knowledge of the way of their deliverance, he proclaimed to them *himself* as their Redeemer, and told them what he had done for them in this world, and what he was about to do further in their behalf. This was, indeed, and eminently, *preaching the Gospel* "to the spirits in prison." And his subsequent going forth from them, which was essentially his *resurrection*, of which the revivification of his body was only a successional incident — important, indeed, but not "*the* resurrection" itself, which was accomplished *in hades*—gave to them the assurance of their own resurrection, their deliverance from the power of death, and from their imprisonment in "the under world." In his *rising* they saw their great enemy conquered; saw humanity, as embodied and represented in the person of the Conqueror, pass triumphantly outward and upward, leaving with them the assured promise that he would come again and receive them to himself, as he had before said, "that where I am there ye may be also." This rendering of the text, therefore, if allowable, would not only meet all the demands of an intelligent exegesis, and harmonize its teachings with the traditional faith of the Church, but also place in a clear and strong light a highly interesting point in Christian eschatology; but the words of the sacred text next following precipitate us into new, and indeed formidable, difficulties.

That which comes next is, as a form of words, entirely plain.

Indeed, the clearness and directness of the passage, as to its grammatical import, only enhances the difficulties of the case; for the apostle seems to say *that our Lord*, after his death on the cross, in his disembodied state proceeded to the place where were held "in prison" those who had heard Noah preach, and who, having rejected his exhortations and warnings, were *απειθείς*, *unpersuaded*, *unbelieving;* and to them, there and then, he "preached." What was the *substance* of that preaching is not indicated, except as it may seem to be determined by the language used. It has been seen that the word *ἐκήρυξεν*, properly translated "preached," according to the New Testament *usus loquendi* has a good rather than a bad or even an indifferent meaning—the bringing *good tidings* rather than denouncing a *curse*. Some, for dogmatic reasons, insist strongly on this sense of the word as here used as alone allowable, while others, who hesitate in respect to the conclusions that are sought to be thus established, claim for it a wider meaning, according to its classical use: and in this case, perhaps, a sense quite the opposite of "glad tidings." It is obviously true that the Gospel of Christ, as proclaimed among men, is not—was not intended to be—invariably a message of joy. Isaiah, in a prophecy which Christ appropriated to himself and his work, describes the mission of the Messiah as not only "to preach the acceptable year of the Lord," but also, and with equal emphasis, "*the day of vengeance of our God.*" In the same spirit Malachi speaks of the rising of "the Sun of righteousness" "with healing in his wings;" and yet he shows that this revelation of God's favor to his people will be accompanied with the *trampling down* of his enemies. This double aspect of the Gospel in its initial proclamation, and still more so in its last results, may be detected all through the course of the divine revelation, and most clearly of all in the final book of the New Testament. The claim, therefore, that is made, that our Lord's preaching to the disobedient hearers of Noah's preaching was a proffer of salvation, may not be accepted without further examination.

Upon this passage the learning of the Church has been exercised since the days of the early Fathers, and through all that period it has been a kind of gordian knot among exegetes and theologians which no sword of authority has been able to cut.

Groups of consenting interpreters have gathered about various theories, and over against each have stood other and opposing groups; and quite evidently, in nearly every case, what has been accepted has not been entirely satisfactory, but was accepted as the most probable, or least difficult, and in most cases because best adapted to serve some preconceived opinion or method of exegesis. Many of the Greek Fathers, Clement, Irenæus, Justin, Origen, Hippolytus, and Gregory, who would seem to be those most likely to understand the language of the apostle, and to know in what sense the words were at first received, agree that Peter is here speaking of Christ's descent into *hades;* but in respect to the errand upon which he went thither, and what he actually did, they are not agreed. Augustine, at a later date, says that a few had believed that he had offered salvation to any that would receive him, which shows that the notion of a *post-mortem* probation is not a modern invention; and this opinion he states at length, and discusses carefully, and without explicit dissent, and yet he confesses his own uncertainty as to the apostle's meaning. At that age, however, there was entire unanimity in the Church in respect to our Lord's personal appearance in *hades*, but not so as to the persons to whom he preached, nor as to the character of the announcements made, except that it was agreed on all hands that it was a message of good tidings to the righteous dead.

In his remarks on this subject Augustine threw out a theory of the case which was taken up and defended by some of the later Latin Fathers, and by the great lights of the Middle Ages, and since the Reformation by some eminent Protestant writers. As stated by Athanasius, from whom Augustine received it, this theory—for it is only a theory—stands about in this wise. The "spirits in prison" are the unbelieving ones who lived in the time of Noah, whose souls were (at the time of Noah's preaching) shut up in the flesh and in the darkness of unbelief and ignorance; that to these Christ preached (while they were yet living) in his divine nature. To this scheme for getting rid of the difficulty there are two formidable objections: first, that it is wholly unsupported by the language of the text; and, second, that if accepted, it does not remove the difficulties in hand. It is altogether forced and arbitrary, and also barren of results. Its weakness is briefly but aptly stated by a recent

commentator: "The preaching of Noah certainly cannot mean a personal act of the spirit of Christ, even supposing that the word *spirit* here refers to the divine Word, which is, to say the least, wholly improbable. The expression, *ἐν φυλακῇ*, *in prison*, certainly does not mean 'in the prison of ignorance,' but a state of *durance*. The Greek *ἀπειθήσασι*, *disobedient*, *unpersuaded*, necessarily refers to a period antecedent to the announcement; and *ἐκήρυξε*, *he preached*, indicates a single act, not a series of admonitions." This theory, therefore, does violence to the grammatical sense of the text, and of course cannot be accepted.

Respecting the subject-matter of the preaching beyond what is conveyed by the word itself, and also as to its effects, the apostle gives no intimation; but he leaves the subject open to whatever implications may be found in the statement that having been waited upon by God's long-suffering in the days of Noah, when they were "disobedient," or *unbelieving*, they are now *in durance*. But having been brought to this point by the plain and unmistakable language of the text, the question is forced upon our attention, and demands an answer: Why did Christ go to these, and what was the message that he delivered to them? And as to this no general, satisfactory answer has been rendered, it is usually found that each interpreter has one at hand, dictated by his antecedent dogmatic conceptions—a basis of argument beyond all others the most unreliable.

The Church of Rome, and all who hold the doctrine of purgatory, find in this text both a confirmation and an elucidation of that article of their creed. They hold that it speaks of Christ's going to hell (the bad side of *hades*) to preach the Gospel to the damned, or, perhaps, to the place where the souls of the patriarchs were detained—the *limbus patrum*—to whom he preached, and whom he delivered from that place and took with him to paradise. But Calmet—a not inconsiderable authority, though, as a good Catholic, he conceded the doctrine of purgatory—expresses a doubt whether there is in this passage any reference to that subject. But we who discard the whole doctrine of purgatory may dismiss that interpretation of the text, as not affording any help toward a solution of its difficulties.

The intimation before given that the Greek word rendered "preached" does not necessarily imply simply the offer of grace, but also the denunciation of curses, and that in this particular case it may be taken in the latter sense, has been defended by a respectable array of authorities, chiefly Protestants, among them Flaccæus, Buddæus, Wolf, Aretius, and others among the Germans, and also by some of the most respectable English and American authorities. Dr. Whedon, with characteristic acuteness and discrimination, remarks: "This (the word here used) is not *εναγγελίζω*, the ordinary word for preaching the Gospel, but *κηρύσσω*, *to proclaim as a herald*, to *publish*, to *announce*, to *preach*. It is used sixty times in the New Testament, and in every instance what is preached or published must be sought in the context. *It never in itself means to preach the Gospel.*" Dr. Hodge, without deciding what the word *must* mean in this place, concedes that it *may* signify that the proclamation was either "the Gospel" (saving or otherwise) "or his (Christ's) own triumph; or deliverance from sheol; or the coming judgment." "It is certain," he adds, "that Christ, after his death upon the cross, entered the invisible world, and there, in some way, made proclamation of what he had done on earth." Dr. Pope, referring to this text only incidentally, remarks: "The words will allow no other interpretation than that, in the interval between his death and resurrection, the Redeemer asserted his authority and lordship in the vast region *where the congregation of the dead* is the great aggregate of mankind;" and this would leave the character of that authority in its operation upon its subjects to be determined by the relations of those subjects to that authority. To understand the word in the wider and more general sense is certainly not openly in opposition to its New Testament usage, and it is strictly according to its classical use; and certainly the rendering last given violates no fixed law of interpretation, and it, better than any other, gives to the passage a sense in harmony with Protestant orthodoxy.

The Church Fathers before referred to, who maintained the doctrine of Christ's descent into *hades*, explained *ἐκήρυξεν*, *preached*, in its more usual New Testament sense of proclaiming grace and salvation; but by "spirits in prison" they understood

only *the spirits of the righteous dead*, and especially the Old Testament saints who were then and there waiting for Christ and his salvation; but Marcion held that the message was to the virtuous of the heathen world, who were, till then, imprisoned under idolatry. Calvin accepted the former interpretation, confessing, however, that it was not agreeable to the requirements of the original text; but he supposed that as Peter was not expert in the Greek language he had failed to properly express what he intended to write; all of which is better calculated to provoke a smile than to produce conviction: and this violent method of dealing with the text is to be either explained or excused on the confession that no other or more satisfactory method of dealing with the subject could be devised. The suggestion of Dr. Clarke, in his note on verse 19, that "the spirits in prison" to whom Christ preached were those who, though they were "disobedient" in respect to Noah's personal warnings, yet when they saw the flood actually coming *repented*, is also favored by Estius, Luther, and Bellarmine, and also by Bengel, who says: "Probably some of so great a multitude, as the flood was coming, *repented*, and all such he supposes God had permitted until that time to remain in the same prison with those who persisted in their unbelief, quite unaware of the results of their repentance, of which they were now informed. Perhaps Joseph Cook has seen this scheme of the exegetes. Were it not that the subject is both very grave and very difficult, and that the names of those who have favored this scheme are of great weight, one might be tempted to characterize it as puerile, far-fetched, and fanciful.

Some of our later and ablest theologians and exegetes favor the opinion that Christ's preaching in *hades* was simply a manifestation of the Gospel alike in saving grace and in judgment, the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of vengeance of our God to the "spirits"—good and bad—there "in prison" (ἐν φυλακῇ). This would be to the righteous the assurance of eternal glorification with Christ, and to the "disobedient" the revelation of God's righteous judgment to be more fully revealed in due time—which fuller and complete manifestation shall be made when there shall be a resurrection both of the *just* and of the *unjust*, and when every man shall be judged according to the deeds done in the *body*. This double aspect

of the divine dispensations toward the saved and the unsaved is often seen in the word of God, as it was illustrated in the guiding pillar of the Exodus, which to the Israelites was light and assurance, and to the Egyptians darkness and dismay; and in respect to this St. Paul speaks of the Gospel which he preached as, to different kinds of persons, "a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death." So it may be understood that Christ's coming among earth's dead *in hades*—the *just* and the *unjust*—making manifest among them the divine scheme of the Gospel of which he was the apostle and high-priest, was in fact a proclamation, not, indeed, of terms and conditions of salvation, but of the nature and intent of the divine economy under which they had lived and died—some in the obedience of faith, and some, faithlessly and in unbelief—the results of which in respect to each was then clearly made known. This interpretation and application of the passage under consideration is not against the plain language of the text, and at the same time it gives to its utterance an awful significance, altogether worthy of the occasion, and also in agreement with all the requirements of the accepted faith of evangelical Christendom.

It is well known that very strong efforts have recently been made to so interpret this text as to make it do service in favor of the doctrine of a *post-mortem* probation, for at least some of those who die unrepentant. The attempt, however, has been only indifferently successful, since in order to reach that conclusion the meaning of the ambiguous or general word "preached" must be assumed to be ascertained and settled, beyond reasonable doubts, in one exclusive and specific sense; and after being thus shut up to a definite and limited application in order to fit it for the desired purpose, the word still needs to have not a little read into it that does not naturally belong to it. This drift of thought—which in his case seems to amount to conviction—is thus stated by Dean Alford, whose general reputation for conservative orthodoxy, together with his extensive biblical and theological learning, entitles his opinions to great respect. His words are:

> With the great majority of commentators, ancient and modern, I understand these words to say, that our Lord in his disembodied state did go to the place of detention of departed spirits, and did there announce his work of redemption—preach salva-

tion, in fact, to the disembodied spirits of those who had refused to obey the voice of God when the judgment of the flood was hanging over them. Why these, rather than others, are mentioned—whether merely as a sample of the like gracious work on others, or for some special reason unimaginable by us—we cannot say. It is ours to deal with the plain words of Scripture, and to accept its revelations as far as vouchsafed to us. And they are vouchsafed to us to the utmost limit of legitimate inference from revealed facts. That inference every intelligent reader will draw from the fact here announced. (?) It is not purgatory; it is not universal restoration; but it is one that throws blessed light on one of the darkest enigmas of the divine justice—the cases where the final doom seems infinitely out of proportion to the lapse which has incurred it; and as we cannot say to what other cases this *κήρυγμα* (preaching) may have applied, so it would be presumption in us to limit its occurrence or its efficacy.

These are remarkable words; and especially so when presented as the language of the learned and eminently conservative exegete and theologian from whom they proceed. But in a case of this kind authority avails nothing against rational criticism, and at that tribunal these words must be tested. And here it is objected, first of all (as has been already shown), that in determining the sense of the word *ἐκήρυξεν* (preached) we are not inevitably shut up to the single meaning of proclaiming the *grace of salvation.* Of the sixty times that the word in some one or other of its forms occurs in the New Testament, a not inconsiderable proportion cannot be made to bear that sense. The passage in Isaiah already referred to (chapter lxi, 2), applied to Christ and his work in the New Testament, speaks not only of *preaching* "the acceptable year of the Lord"—*εὐαγγελίσασθαι*—but it has coupled with it, in the language of the prophet, as a part of the same proclamation, "the day of vengeance of our God." The "strong triumphant traveler" who comes "from Edom, with dyed garments," stained with the blood of his enemies, and in whose heart was the "day of vengeance," synchronizing with "the year of his redeemed," is the same ONE who "went and preached to the spirits in prison." If, then, Christ is set forth in prophecy as a *Destroyer*, as well as a *Redeemer*, why should not his own proclamation of himself and his Messianic work in the spirit world contain the announcement of his wrath—a certain fearful expectation of judgment — against those who

had filled up the measure of their lives in unbelief and disobedience? The future manifestations of Christ of which we read in the New Testament are certainly as strongly marked with punitive and destructive elements as the opposite; and yet these are parts of his Messianic work; and by analogy we might expect that his manifestation of himself to the *dead* would show forth the same characteristics. The first approaches of the Gospel are uniformly with offers of mercy, and therefore the proclamation of the Gospel as something *new* is uniformly an *evangel;* but to the unbelieving and disobedient it becomes a *malediction.* Is it not, then, the more rational to understand the preaching of our Lord to "the spirits in prison," who were in their life-time disobedient rejecters of God's messages of mercy, as revelations of wrath rather than offers of grace?

The passage in chapter iv, 6, which reads, "For unto this end was the Gospel preached even to the dead," has been referred to as in its sense parallel with that first considered, but, as it seems to us, evidently without any good reason. In that place the word used (εὐηγγελίσθη) uniformly implies the good tidings of the Gospel, and it relates to something that had certainly occurred in human history; and the word νεκροῖς, *the dead*, can scarcely be made to bear any other meaning than that of *persons now deceased*, to whom, during their life-time, the Gospel was preached with the intent indicated. This, and the still more remote and far-fetched passage about "those who are baptized for the dead" (1 Cor. xv, 29), are all the Scriptures that are claimed to support Dean Alford's interpretation.

And here it may be well to suggest, that, in interpreting obscure texts of Holy Scripture, if they are to be explained at all—and there are those that defy all attempts in that direction—it should be done in the light of passages and doctrinal statements that are clearly intelligible, and of certain and well-determined import. That the text under consideration is obscure and of doubtful meaning has been confessed ever since the early ages of the Church; it seems, therefore, scarcely allowable to give precedence to such a text, and to accept it as teaching an article of faith that is not learned from the not obscure statements of the New Testament, an interpretation the manifest drift of which, indeed, seems to be opposed to its

uniform teachings, and to the "analogy of faith." Nor are we at liberty to accept any man's determination as to what are the *due proportions* between this or that form of sinning, and the *final doom incurred* by it. To do that belongs to God alone; and we can learn nothing respecting the demerits of sin, or the relative punishableness of different forms and degrees of sin, except as we receive our instruction from the word of God. If there is one prerogative of the divine SOVEREIGN that is sacred above every other, it is that of *judgment*—the vindication of his righteousness and his *throne*. It is for us to confess that "the Judge of the whole earth will do right;" and it is great *presumption*, not to say *impiety*, making fearful approaches to *blasphemy*, for any creature to attempt to say what God may or may not do, or to mark out a proportion between the "final doom" of the divine judgment and the "lapse" by which that doom is incurred. Who will measure "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," and determine with mathematical exactness the due proportions between any of its concrete forms and the divine judgment against it?

We end as we began, confessing the very great difficulty of reaching an altogether satisfactory understanding of some things in the passage that we have been considering, though much that it teaches is very evident. It presents the this-world side of the history of Christ's death as an indisputable reality; and over against this is presented the spirit-world side as equally real. It assumes, and so virtually asserts, the continuous living of human souls after physical death—that to die *fleshwise* is to be *made* or *found* alive, spiritwise. It opens a scene in the world of spirits, and so opens to us a revelation in eschatology, perhaps the fullest and clearest in all the Scriptures. It enables us to follow Christ in his "descent into *hades;*" his personal subjection to death for a little while, as a man with men, and his coming from under that subjection by the power of the Father, and according to the word of prophecy (Psa. xvi, 10), which was a Messianic act, performed in our nature, and in behalf of all who shall be found in Christ, who is "the resurrection and the life." With so much clearly taught in the passage, it must always be esteemed invaluable, even though some of its parenthetical parts defy all our attempts to expound them.

Art. V.—ETHNOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

Ethnographers, who describe the different races of men, with their characteristics, circumstances, manners, and habits; and ethnologists, who treat of the origin, relations, and marked differentiations of those races, find among the peoples who inhabit Northern and Central Africa an ample field for their researches, and abundant material for the exercise of their skill in classification. And as, according to Elisée Reclus, ethnology is related to ethnography as the juice is to the grape, so do the relations of language and the similitude of appearance and habit help to trace the oneness of origin of all related types of man.

The Bible is the only volume that pretends to impart authentic information about the primitive settlement of Africa. The "Toldoth Beni-Noah," remarks a writer in the "Asiatic Society's Journal," vol. iv, p. 230, "is the most authentic record we possess for the affiliation of races." The biblical genealogies are of great historical importance,

> as marking strongly the vital truth, that the entire framework and narrative of Scripture is in every case real, not ideal; plain and simple matter of fact, not fanciful allegory evolved out of the author's consciousness; and often these passages of Scripture, dry and forbidding as is their first aspect, will well repay a careful and scholarly study. They are like an arid range of bare and stony mountains, which, when minutely examined, reveals to the investigator mines of emerald or diamond.*

What is dark in them now may hereafter receive floods of light from the researches of judicious explorers. The history of antiquarian science fully justifies this expectation.

The earliest of the post-diluvian genealogies is that in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. Under its surface is concealed "a very considerable amount of important historical and ethnological truth." The majority of the names there given occur elsewhere in the Bible in an ethnic, or else in a geographical, sense. Cush, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Mizraim, Caphtorim, Pathrusim, Ludim, Phut, Seba, etc., indicate either countries or nations—sometimes both. The object of the author is

* Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations," p. 106.

evidently to give a sketch of the interconnection of races. All the names he mentions, with the exception of those of Noah and his three sons, are probably ethnic. This document is, in fact, the earliest ethnographic essay in existence. It relates chiefly to the nations with whom the Jews, at the time of its composition, had some acquaintance. It indicates the principle of ethnic subdivision. It exhibits the fact that races, as they increase, subdivide; and that "as mankind spread over the earth there was a constant breaking up into a larger, and still larger, number of nations," distinct politically, also linguistically, and so ethnically. This fact, as G. Rawlinson observes, furnishes "the only theory of ethnology which at once harmonizes with, and accounts for, the facts of language as comparative philology reveals them to us."

Four principal races are alleged to have descended from Ham, the second son of Noah. These are designated, respectively, Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. (Gen. x, 6.) Cush is usually synonymous with Ethiopia, the modern *Habesh*, or Abyssinia. But there was also an Asiatic Cush, which Ezekiel coupled with Persia (Ezek. xxxvii, 5), and Isaiah with Elam (Isa. xi, 11), and which included a portion of the Arabians, the primitive Babylonians, and the Cissians. Between Arabia and Abyssinia there has been much of intercourse that has modified the physical type of both nations, and especially of the latter. The Mizrim, or Egyptians, descended from the same source as the Ethiopian inhabitants of the upper Nile valley, with whom they were frequently and intimately associated. Phut, or "the Phut," are probably identical with the people called *Pet* by the Egyptians — a people whose emblem was the unstrung bow, and who dwelt in Nubia, the tract of country between Egypt and Ethiopia. Canaan was the district on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Some of its inhabitants, it is conjectured, migrated to Africa after their expulsion from their native seats by the Israelites under Joshua.

The Cushites of Ethiopia, settled in the south and southeast of Egypt, between the main stream of the Nile and the sea-coast, sent out colonies to new localities. Of these, Seba, situated between the Nile and the Atbara, was thus occupied. Meroe (*Saba*), its capital, became famous for its eminence, and for the physical superiority of its citizens. From

Seba emigrants appear to have crossed the Red Sea into the Havilah district, which the learned identify with Khâwlan, in the north-west of the modern Yemen. Thence they spread, under the name of Sabtah, into Hadramaut; and from thence, under the appellation of Raamah, and subsequently of Sheba and Dedan, to the shores of the Persian Gulf. There they seem to have amalgamated with the Semites. (Gen. x, 28, 29.) The enterprising and commercial character of this mixed race—the Sabæans—is celebrated alike by biblical and classical writers.

That this was the line of dissemination is very probable in view of the fact that "M. Antoine d'Abbadie, Dr. Beke, M. Fresnel, and others, have proved that there are to this day races in Southern Arabia, especially the Mahras, whose language is decidedly non-Semitic; and that between this language and that of the Abyssinian tribes of the Galla, Agau, and their congeners, there is very considerable affinity." * The Mahra, moreover, is proven by analysis to be the modern representative of the ancient Himyaritic speech. These facts, and many others of similar character, establish our confidence in the wise and accurate guidance of the Mosaic genealogist while studying the ethnography of Africa.

The descendants of Mizraim, the second son of Ham, were the principal settlers of Africa to the west of the ancient *Khem*, or Egypt. The genealogist divides them into eight tribes or nations: "The Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (out of whom came Philistim), and Caphtorim." (Gen. x, 13, 14.) G. Rawlinson supposes the Ludim, who are commonly united with either Phut or Cush, or both, by the major prophets, and who were closely allied with Egypt, to have settled in the Nile valley, north of Phut; and that the Anamim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, and Casluhim were East African tribes, who were probably soon absorbed by the Egyptians. The Lehabim, identical with the Lubim, with the Rebu, or Lebu, of the Egyptian monuments, and with the Libyans (Λίβυες, *Libyi*) of the Greeks and Romans, occupied the country west of Egypt, and on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. When the Greeks seized the Cyrenaica, they named the entire southern continent Libya, after the aboriginal inhabitants.

* Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations," p. 209.

Gliddon differs from Rawlinson with respect to the geographical distribution of most of the Mizraitic tribes. The Casluhim, he maintains, dwelt in Barbary, and became the progenitors of "the Shillouhs, one of the grand duplex divisions of Gætulian families." * The "Ludim probably occupied Mauritania." "We rejoice to learn from Gräberg de Hemso that the Ludaya tribe still furnishes the Sultan's body-guard in Morocco, and that their river Tagassa is yet called Luad and Thaluda." † The Anamim are Numidians.‡ The Lehabim were "a nomadic people of Gætulian race, and of Berberesque habitats." § The Naphtuhim lived "around Mareotic provinces, on the confines of the M Ts R I M, or Egyptians. They spoke Berber dialects, like the rest of their Berberesque brethren, and may be safely assumed as ranking among the easternmost representatives of the great Gætulian race." ‖ The Pathrusim were the Pharusii of ancient Barbary.¶ Gliddon, as he himself with gleeful malignity conjectures, is doubtless as much or more in harmony with the Mosaic genealogy on this point than Rawlinson.

All ethnographers agree that the descendants of the Libyans, whose different Mizraitic tribes constituted what Bodichon termed the "one veritably indigenous race in Barbary, namely, the Gætulian," are to be found in the modern Tuariks and Berbers of Northern Africa, west of the Nile system. These not only inhabit the Sahara and the chain of the Atlas, but extend to the shores of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and into the fertile regions contiguous to the Great Desert.

The Libyan tribe of the Marmaridæ is represented by the modern Berbers; and that of the Cabales by the Cabyles. Numerous customs recorded by the ancients as obtaining among the ancient Libyans are found still to exist among the Berbers and Tuariks. On these grounds the best modern ethnologists regard the identity of the two races as established; and speak of the Berbers, Tuariks, Shuluhs, and Cabyles, etc., as the aboriginal descendants of Northern Africa.**

Says De Slane:

The Berbers, autochthonous people of Northern Africa, are the same race that is now designated by the name of Kabiles. The

* Nott and Gliddon, "Types of Mankind," pp. 517, 521.
† *Ibid.*, p. 514. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 514. § *Ibid.*, p. 516.
‖ *Ibid.*, p. 518. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 520.
** Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. ii, p. 25, *et seq.*

different names under which this [the Kabile] idiom presents itself are recognized in a common appellative, as if forming branches of one and the same trunk. The word Berber comprises equally the Kabàïl of the littoral, the Chawéeya of the south-east, the Shilhéeya of Morocco, the Beni-M'zab, and the Tuariks, and, in the same manner that all these dialects offer but slight differences among themselves, leaving no doubt whatever as to their community of origin, so the peoples that make use of them must be regarded as the scattered members of one and the same family.

On the Jurjura plateaus there is a tribe still called (*beni*, Arabic for "sons") Beni-Kébîla; another on the Aures is (*owlàd* = children) Oued-Shelih, or Shilhéeya; and a third, *Beni-Berber;* and thus, without break in the chain of nomenclature, we can now ascend, in the same language, race, and country, from the T-*Amazirg*, or *Amazirg*-T, or "freemen," name given by this people to themselves through the *Mazée-eh* of Arab authors, to the *Gentes Mazicæ* of the Romans, and thence, finally, to the Μαξυες of Herodotus, in whose day they were Βαρβαροι; that is to say, not *barbarians* etymologically, but these same old *Berberoi*, our "Berbers." *

Ebn Khaledoon, the Berber historiographer, as quoted by Nott and Gliddon,† is right as to the Hamitic origin of the Berbers, but wrong as to the special line of descent. "Now the real fact," he affirms, "which dispenses with all hypotheses is this: The Berbers are the children of Canaan, son of Ham, son of Noah. Their grandfather was named Mazyh (the *Masici* of the Latins, the *Mazues* of the Greeks)."

The Kabyles inhabit the northern region of Africa; the Shillouhs, the southern portion of Morocco; the Berbers, the south part of Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Saharan desert. The Chawéeya inhabit the ocean coast of Central Morocco, the northerly section of the triple Atlas chain, the Algerian *landes*, and the mountainous interior. The tribes of Libyan blood have also originated other and different communities by intermarriage with Negroes. The Hamitic character of the Berber tribes is further manifested by the resemblance of their languages to those spoken on the banks of the Nile.

A very considerable analogy has been traced between the native languages of North Africa and the Egyptian and Coptic;

* Nott and Gliddon, "Indigenous Races," p. 535.

† "Indigenous Races," p. 540.

an analogy which is more striking in the structure than in the roots, but which extends to some of the simplest and earliest words. In Berber one is "*ouan*," in Coptic "*ouot*," in Egyptian "*oua;*" in Shuluh two is "*seen*," in Coptic "*snaü;*" in Coptic to drink is "*so*," it is "*soo*" in Berber and Tuarik. *Ouas*, Berber for "day," resembles Coptic, or rather Sahidic, "*hu;*" *ikhf*, Berber for "head," may be traced in Egyptian *ape*, and Coptic *aphe*, which in the oasis of Ammon is *akhfe*. Tuarik *mar* for "man" is perhaps identical with Coptic and Egyptian *ronu*. These and other similar resemblances are regarded as sufficient to constitute the Berber, Tuarik, etc., "cognate" dialects to the Egyptian; and "cognate dialects" are an indication of "cognate races."

Similar considerations suggest race relations between the communities of eastern Africa, the Berbers, and the Egyptians, and afford strong presumption of common Hamitic origin. Peschel remarks:

> Of the Hamites of East Africa, the inhabitants of the Nubian Nile districts, who call themselves Barbâra, or Berbers, most resemble the ancient Egyptians. They were formerly Christians, until the fall of the Berber Nilitic empire of Dongola, in 1320. Between the Nubian Nile and the Red Sea live tribes called Blemmyer by old geographers, Bedsha by the Axumitic inscriptions, and also by Arab geographers. Their purest representatives are the Bishareen, Haddendoa, and some of the Beni-Amer, who, in addition to a corrupt Arabic, speak Tobedauie, a more ancient Hamite language with three genders. Between the Blue Nile and the Atbara rove the nomadic tribes of the Awlâd Abu, Simbil, and Shukurieh, which latter are not descended from the Arabs, although they speak a corrupt Arabic. The Kababish live as shepherds between the Nile and Kordofan; and on both banks of the White River, above the mouth of the Blue Nile, live the Hassanieh. Both are pronounced to be Arabs, although in type they are East African Hamites.*

C. L. Brace, in his "Races of the Old World," calls the Berbers Semites, apparently for the reason that there are some linguistic resemblances between their speech and that of the Semitic peoples. For the same reason they might be termed *Sub-Semites*. Dr. Robert Brown observes that "the Amazirgh languages are allied to the Hebrew and Arabic, and have been called sub-Semitic."† The real fact seems to be that these

* Peschel, "The Races of Man," pp. 482, 483.

† "Races of Mankind," vol. ii, p. 208.

resemblances point to a common origin of the Hamitic and Semitic families, and go far to establish the scriptural doctrine of the unity of mankind.

The language of the ancient Egyptians, though it cannot be classed in the Semitic family with the Hebrew, has important points of correspondence—whether due to the long intercourse between the two races in Egypt, or to some deeper ancestral connection—and such analogies also appear in the Berber languages of North Africa.*

Not less certainly than language do the physical peculiarities of different types of the human race point to community of origin. Says Topinard:

By human type must be understood the average of characters which the human race, supposed to be pure, presents. . . . Let us take an example: The Berber people is formed, 1. Of a brown autochthonous groundwork, that is to say, of the most ancient of which we can find any trace; 2. Of blondes from the North, Arabs from the East, and Negroes from the South. The Berber type is *ensemble* of the characters which must have belonged exclusively to the autochthonous stock; its sub-types are the Tuarik, the Kabyl, etc. It is the offspring of some other more general type of which we are still ignorant.†

The area over which the Berber formerly spread was much larger than that over which he now ranges. The movements of population, which modified his physical character, restricted him within more limited confines. The Berber type is found not only in Africa, but, according to Topinard, "there is every reason to believe that it intrenched upon southern Europe, and that the oldest stock of the Iberian peninsula, the basin of the Garonne, and the islands of the Mediterranean is Berber."‡ The same stock also furnished the primitive (Guancho) population to the Canary Islands.

It is in the level country of the Sahara that "the Berber strain was every-where able to maintain itself in full purity." In North Africa it has been modified by the influx of many nations, mostly Semitic, and also by North European conquerors.

In Eastern Africa, the Abyssinians have become better known to Christians by the labors of missionaries, and by the British expedition under Lord Napier, sent thither to effect the forcible release of the persons detained in captivity by the Em-

* Tylor, "Anthropology," p. 160. † *Ibid.*, p. 447. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 462.

peror Theodore. In the Abyssinians is an admixture of Semitic blood from Arabia, and possibly a slight infusion of it from Palestine. Seventy years before Mohammed made his appearance in Arabian affairs, the kingdom of Yemen was conquered by the Negus of Ethiopia, who assisted the persecuted Christians against their Jewish king, Dha Nowas. Khosrú Anushirvan, the Persian emperor, drove out the Abyssinians shortly before the advent of Mohammed. The Gheez, now a dead language, was the national speech of the Abyssinians in the age of Frumentius, when the capital of their empire was at Axum, and

is nearly related to the idiom of the Himyaritic inscriptions. The Abyssinians of the ancient empire are thus proved to have been a part of the great stock of the Himyarite or southern Arabs, who appear to have possessed the countries on both sides of the Arabian Gulf for many ages before the Hegira, and in all probability before the Christian era.*

That blending of Hamitic with Semitic blood, which first produced the Sabæan nation in southern Arabia, and which has imparted such strength and tenacity to the several divisions of the Abyssinian people, has also made itself manifest in the interior of the African continent. Many—indeed, most—of the so-called Arabs, who are the chief factors of the slave trade, and who have established themselves at different points on the eastern coast, and in the central basin down to and south of the equator, have more or less of the Hamitic strain. In the Soodan they intermarry with the Negroes, and raise large families of children.

Now that the eyes of the civilized world are fixed on the agitations of the Egyptian Soodan, and that they are watching with intense interest for the results of the impending collision between the disciplined forces of Great Britain and the fanatical hordes of El Mahdi, inquiry into the ethnic character of the Negro nations is particularly opportune.

The Egyptian Soodan not only includes Kordofan, Darfur, and Sennaar, but also an indefinite tract of country as far south as the equator, and including portions of the great lakes from whence issue the principal feeders of the White Nile. Its indigenous inhabitants have black or very dark, and often sooty, skins; *dolicho-cephalous*, or long, narrow

* Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv, p. 585.

heads; *prognathous*, or projecting jaws; long thigh-bones, long arms, lean shanks, an oblique set of the pelvis, and are deficient in "secondary sexual characters." They are also distinguished by short, crisp hair, each fiber of which is flattened like the fiber of wool. The beard is wanting, the lips are thick and prominent, the mouth often enormously large, the forehead retreating, and the nose flattened. "The skin is thick and velvety, and emits an exhalation of a pungent, unpleasant, and characteristic odor." Meager thighs, calfless legs, elongated heels, and archless feet are also the possessions of many Negroes, but by no means of all. The native habitat of the Negro is from the southern border of the Sahara, which has fallen under the dominion of hybrid Hamites and hybrid Semites, to the Cape Colony. Winchell includes the Caffres among the true Negroes, but excludes the Hottentots and Bushmen. The lowest of all the Negro tribes are found in the region of the White Nile, where the Shillouhs and Dinkas closely resemble in physical characteristics the Fundi Negroes of the Blue Nile, who founded the kingdom of Sennaar. The latter have very long, crimped hair; color, varying from brown to blue-black, excepting the hand and the sole of the foot, which are of a flesh-red color. The lips are fleshy, but not intumescent, and the nose straight or slightly aquiline. They are probably of mixed race. "Kordofan," says Prichard, "is probably the oasis whence the Nobatæ, or Nouba, originated. . . . The Nouba themselves may be an offset from the original stock which first peopled Egypt and Nubia." * Their descendants, barbarized in the forests of Central Africa, would, he asserts, present the appearance they now do. Friedrich Müller places the Foulahs or Fellatahs of the Niger in ethnic association with the Nouba, and refers them collectively to the north-east. On all the borders of the nations south of the Sahara is noticed a blending with the Negro type.

The question is, whether the Hamites, blackish-brown or brownish-black on the Nile, would assume, and did assume, the sooty color now characteristic of the fluviatile Soodanese after settling in the hot, humid, malarious valley of the Upper Nile and its tributaries; and further, whether their descendants, emerging from the depressions of the Nile system, and estab-

* "Natural History of Man."

lishing themselves on the mountainous regions and on the shores of the upper lakes, and on the vast plains of the southern interior, would, under altered environments, regain the physical type of their remote ancestors.

The answer to this question, we hold, must be wholly affirmative. African travelers, especially Dr. Livingstone, hold that existing modifications of the human race on the continent of Africa are caused by the joint power of all or of several of the factors—climate, heat, moisture, malaria, exposure, food, occupation, and intermarriage. Shelter, excitement, culture, religion, also modify color and structure. These forces are sufficient to account for all variations of the human form within historic time, from the probably original brown color and Semitic Arab conformation of the primal pair from whom all peoples have descended. This theory accounts for and is in harmony with all the facts of the case. Smyth, in his "Unity of the Human Races," further argues, and with valid logic, that it is concordant with the Bible, with history, and with tradition; with the intellectual, religious, and moral constitution of human nature; with the universality, nature, and connection of languages; with the fertility of intermarriages, and with the best interests of society.

> I do not [wrote the eminent physiologist, Dr. J. W. Draper] contemplate the human race as consisting of varieties, much less of distinct species; but rather as offering numberless representations of the different forms which an ideal type can be made to assume under exposure to different conditions.*

Nearly all, if not quite all, the alleged types of the human race can be seen at any time in a leisurely walk down Broadway.

It is interesting to note the deepening hue of the human race as it approaches the equator, and particularly in the riverine systems. "The women of Mequinas, in Northern Africa," Jackson wrote, "are very beautiful, and have the red and white complexion of Englishwomen." † Mr. Hodgson discovered that the people of Wadreag, though speaking the Berber language with purity and correctness, were not only black, "as many of the genuine Arabs of the country are known to be, but have

* "Human Physiology," pp. 565, 566. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.

† "Types of Mankind," p. 207. Nott & Gliddon.

features approaching those of the Negroes, and hair like that which [characterizes most of] the human race." He believed

that these characters had been acquired, not as the result of the intermixture of races, which the local circumstances of the tribes seemed to him to preclude, but through the long-continued agency of physical causes upon a tribe of generic Tuarik origin, though the ordinary type of the race is almost similar to the Arabian.*

The traveler Buckingham remarked of Semites in similar environments:

It is, certainly, a very marked peculiarity of the Arabs who inhabit the valley of the Jordan, that they have flatter features, darker eyes, and coarser hair than any other tribe, a peculiarity rather attributable, I conceive, to the constant and intense heat of that region than to any other cause.†

Darwin has described the marvelous variations of animals under domestication; and modern anatomists dwell upon the shorter jaws of the present generation, and the early loss of the wisdom-tooth, which is no longer needed for the grinding of cereal food. These facts are of similar character with the changes undergone by human beings in Africa under changed conditions of existence. Reginald Stuart Poole, in "The Genesis of the Earth and Man" (p. 69), has, we think, inverted the facts he recognizes in the statement that

Providence has ordained rapid means of effecting a change from the form and hue of the darkest of our species to the form and hue of the fairest; but only extremely slow means of effecting the contrary change, except in respect of color.

Dr. Livingstone and other African travelers not infrequently protest against the grotesque caricature of the typical Negro by writers who labor in defense of unscriptural and untenable theories. That eminent missionary scientist affirms:

With every disposition to pay due deference to the opinions of those who have made ethnology their special study, I have felt myself unable to believe that the exaggerated features usually put forth as those of the typical Negro characterize the majority of any nation of South-eastern Africa. The monuments of the ancient Egyptians seem to me to embody the ideal of the inhabitants of Londa better than the figures of any work of ethnology I have met with.

* Prichard, "Natural History of Man," p. 559. † *Ibid.*, p. 560.

To make ignorance the basis for attempted refutation of facts, stated by authors of high character and tried veracity, is an experiment perilous only to those who make it. Literature of ancient date is largely silent on the subject of African ethnology; but what is extant is certainly not opposed to the ethnic derivation of the native African tribes from the second son of Noah:

> If it be shown in the investigations of the next few years, as many philologists predict, that the lowest African race—the Hottentot—is a descendant of the highest, the Egyptian [as it has been shown that the perishing outcasts known as the Veddahs are the descendants of those whose native tongue was the Sanskrit], then will be demonstrated that no degradation of physical type or mental condition is a necessary proof of diversity of origin.*

Magnificent specimens of physical manhood are frequent among the African Negro tribes, and Dr. Blyden, Williams, —the recently-appointed chief of the United States Exploring Expedition on the Congo,—and scores of other familiar names, prove that, under favorable Christian conditions, the black races are as capable of the highest civilization as the red, yellow, or white.

African exploration, and the ethnological conclusions founded upon its discoveries, is scarcely a century old. Vast unexplored sections await the coming of the adventurous pioneer, and will doubtless yield the knowledge of facts that must somewhat alter the character of scientific theories; but not, we are warranted in believing, in antagonism to the teaching of "God's word written."

Besides the ancient historical literature of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, we have, as sources of ethnic information about Africa, the antique monuments found in its northern portions. The Gomera of the district of Rif in Morocco are

> possibly descended from those marine Celts who, in early ages, came down from the coasts of Africa, where they left the cairns, *peulvans*, and cromlechs, which the Romans at more than one place called Philœnian altars, particularly those found near Cyrene and in the Salt Lake.†

* C. L. Brace, "The Races of the Old World," p. 311.

† Col. C. H. Smith, "Natural History of the Human Species," p. 365.

Herodotus, the father of history, is the first writer who gave authentic information about the inhabitants of Africa. Homer, the father of epic poetry, also possessed some secondary knowledge of the African aborigines—knowledge whose comparative accuracy has been singularly verified by modern discoveries. Stretching westward to the Atlantic, on the northern coast of the continent, in the time of Herodotus were the *Adyrmachidæ*, *Gilligammæ*, *Asbystæ*, *Cabalians*, *Auschisæ*, *Nasamones*, and *Psylli*. South of the Nasamones were the *Garamantes*, who, like the modern Bosjesmen, avoided all intercourse with mankind. South-west of the Syrtis Minor (Gulf of Kabes) were the Lotophagi. Next came the Machylans and Auscans. In the Sahara were the kindred tribes of the *Gætuli*, and *Melano Gætuli*, whose descendants in the fertile countries south of the Sahara are known as Foulahs, Mandingoes, Jaloffs, etc. West of the Syrtis Minor were the *Maxyans*, *Gætuli*, the forefathers of the modern Tawarek, or *Tuarik*, the Numidians, and the Mauritanians.

Phenicia was the first historic nation not Hamitic, of which we have any notice, to intrude its members into Africa. The Phenicians themselves were, in all probability, of mingled blood, and supplanted the Hamitic Canaanites on the sea-coast of Palestine. Of Semitic speech, though not of pure Semitic blood, they were as distinct from the Canaanites as the Anglo-Saxons were distinct from the Britons. According to Herodotus (vii, 89) and Justin (xviii, 3, sec. ii, etc.), they were immigrants into Syria from the shores of the Persian Gulf, at a period to which their national traditions extended. "Quiet and peaceable, a nation of traffickers, skillful in navigation and the arts, both useful and ornamental, unwarlike except at sea, and wholly devoted to commerce and manufactures," * they yet found means to dispossess the fierce and intractable aborigines, and to establish themselves in their room. Between them and the Jews almost perpetual amity reigned, a fact which goes to prove their Semitic or sub-Semitic character.

The maritime genius of the Phenicians not only carried them to the shores of Africa, but induced them to found therein a number of commercial cities, of which Carthage was the head, and for a lengthened period the political rival of Rome.

* Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. iv, p. 198. Second edition.

Carthage was probably founded between the years 872 and 865 B. C. The Libyans understood the benefits of commerce, and gladly let a portion of the soil, at a fixed rent, to the new-comers. Originally nomads, they were early won to agricultural pursuits. Carthaginian colonies were thickly planted among them; intermarriages were encouraged; and a mixed people, known as Liby-Phenices, sprang up in the fertile territory south and south-west of Carthage. These were bilingual, spoke the Berber tongue, but also adopted the language and habits of the Asiatic settlers, and were faithful and attached subjects. Far beyond the range of territory thus occupied, the civilizing power of the Carthaginians extended. Their authority was eventually acknowledged by all the coast tribes as far west as the pillars of Hercules, and as far east as the territory of Cyrene. In the latter section of Africa the Greeks had established colonies about 630 B. C. Seventy years later they also settled in Barca. Punic blood was largely interfused during several centuries with that of the native Libyans throughout Northern Africa, and as far south as Fezzan.

Rome followed Carthage as mistress of Northern Africa. The destruction of Carthage by Scipio Nasica, B. C. 146, followed by the annexation of Numidia, *cir.* B. C. 48, and of Mauritania, A. D. 40, converted the whole country into what was practically a Roman province. The new masters extended their civilization over the whole, and have left many durable monuments—described by Dr. Barth and other travelers—of their presence and power. They also further modified the ethnic character of the Libyan subdivisions by marriage and by the associations incident to the institution of slavery.

In A. D. 439 Genseric, at the head of the Vandals—a race allied to the Teutons or Goths, and coming from the region of the Elbe and Oder—captured Carthage and extended his dominion over the most fruitful provinces of Africa. In 535 Belisarius reconquered and placed them under the rule of the Greek emperor Justinian. Gelimer, the grandson of Genseric, was expatriated to Galatia, and the six hundred thousand—more or less—Vandals probably purchased their safety by

abjuring their character, religion, and language, and their degenerate posterity would be insensibly mingled with the common herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the

heart of the Moorish tribes, a curious traveler [Shaw, p. 59] has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race; and it was formerly believed that the boldest of the Vandals fled beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Romans, to enjoy their solitary freedom on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Africa had been their empire; it became their prison.*

Gibbon adds in a note:

Yet since Procopius (l. ii, c. 13) speaks of a people of Mount Atlas, as already distinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phenomenon (which is likewise visible in the Andes of Peru, *Buffon*, tom. iii, p. 504) may naturally be ascribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

Next in order of foreign irruption into Northern Africa came the Saracens, who, about the year 647, first attempted its conquest under the Caliph Othman. Akbah, the fearless and fanatic commander of the Arabs, "traversed the wilderness in which his successors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco," and reached the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert. Spurring his horse into the waves, near the mouth of the river Sus, at no great distance from the Canary Islands, he exclaimed:

Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee.†

Akbah perished by the sword, but his fierce intolerant spirit survives in the persons of the Afric-Arabians.

By the year 709 the subjugation of the pure and composite African peoples was fully accomplished.

In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedouins of the desert. With the religion they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabians might be transported over the Nile, and scattered through the Libyan desert; and I am not ignorant that five of the Moorish tribes still retain their *barbarous* idiom, with the appellation and character of *white* Africans.‡

* Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iv, p. 140.

† *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 242.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 247, 248.

With the accession of the Turkish sultan to the caliphate of Islam came the introduction of another and entirely distinct ethnic element into Africa. The pure Turks are the descendants of nomads who formerly pitched their tents on the southern banks of the Oxus, in Central Asia. The modern Turks are hybrids of every race, combining all the vices and none, or very few, of the virtues of any of their ancestors. Their presence in Africa, as elsewhere, has only wrought corruption and death in blood, morals, and society.

The earliest trustworthy knowledge of Northern and Central Africa received in modern times, reached Christendom through the medium of the Arabs. Accompanied by the camel, "the ship of the desert," they pierced the Sahara as far as the Senegal and Gambia Rivers on the west, and Sofala, Mombas, and Melinda on the east. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, Houghton, Mungo Park, Hornemann, and Burckhardt explored portions of the "Dark Continent," and published accounts of their discoveries. Park lost his life at Boussa, on the Niger, in 1805. Hornemann, in 1796–98, journeyed from Cairo to Murzuk, in Fezzan, sent valuable information from thence about the countries, and especially of Bornoo, in the south. He, like Mungo Park, perished in his work. In 1822 Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney crossed the Great Desert from Tripoli to Lake T'sad, and explored from thence to Sakatu on the west, and Mandara in the south. Clapperton, in a second journey, crossed the Kawara (Niger) on his way from the coast of Guinea to Sakatu, where he died. Laing followed, and was murdered in the desert. In 1827–28 Caillié passed from Rio Nunez, on the western coast, to Timbuctoo, and from thence, through the Sahara, to Morocco.

Bruce, in 1768–73; Browne, who visited Darfur in 1793; Burckhardt, in 1814; Cailliaud, in 1819; Rüppell, in 1824–25; Russegger, in 1837; D'Abbadie, in 1838–44; Dr. Beke, in 1840–44; D'Arnaud and Werne, on the White Nile in 1840–42; and Brun Rollet, in 1845, explored, and published narratives of their observations and adventures in Eastern Africa.

To establish trade and to abolish slavery in Northern Africa as far south as Lake T'sad, Dr. Barth, accompanied by Richardson and Dr. Overweg, left England in 1849. His companions died, but he successfully prosecuted his work until 1856. His

three volumes, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, are a rich treasury of information about the ethnography, religion, government, morals, manners, customs, commerce, and resources of the Sahara tribes, and of the central Negro states of the Northern Soodan. Burton and Speke, from Zanzibar, in 1857–59, discovered Lake Tanganyika. Speke also discovered another large lake, which he supposed to be the head reservoir of the Nile. Simultaneously, or nearly so, Petherick (1858), Lejean, Miani, the Poncets, Antinori, Debono, and Pency added much to our knowledge of the upper White Nile from the Egyptian side. Duveyrier, the scientific French traveler, also explored the Sahara. In 1860 Speke and Grant left Zanzibar for the lake the former had discovered. Speke named it the Victoria Nyanza, and traced the river overflowing from it to the White Nile at Gondokoro. In 1861 Gerhard Rohlfs, in Morocco, and in 1862 Petherick, on the White Nile, made important contributions to geographical science. In 1864 Sir Samuel Baker, pushing forward from Gondokoro, discovered the second great reservoir of the Nile, and named it the Albert Nyanza. In 1865–6 Rohlfs crossed the northern portion of the continent by nearly Barth's route, and thence south-westerly to the Bight of Benin. Dr. Schweinfurth, in 1869–71, penetrated the region of the complicated network of tributaries received by the White Nile, north-west of Gondokoro. Baker then annexed the whole country south, to the equator, to Egypt, and planted garrisons to maintain the hold. In 1869 Winwood Reade, from Sierra Leone to the head of the Niger; in 1867 Munzinger, in Northern Abyssinia; and in 1869 Dr. Nachtigal, carrying presents from the king of Prussia to the sultan of Bornoo on Lake T'sad, in acknowledgment of that potentate's kindness to former travelers, increased the volume of African geography. The latter particularly did excellent service by investigating the central mountainous country of Tibesti, which was previously known only by report.

Dr. Lenz, since then, has added the observations of the only scientifically trained explorer that ever traversed the vast region lying between Barth's route through Rhat and Air to the Atlantic to our knowledge of the Sahara. Quitting Tangier in November, 1879, he arrived at Timbuctoo in July, 1880, and at St. Louis, by way of the Senegal, in November following.

Leaving the city of Morocco on the 6th of March, in the guise of a Turkish physician, he was refused any guard beyond Terodant, south of the Atlas, on the ground that the sultan exercised but slight authority over the fierce and fanatical Shloh tribes in the southern part of his dominions. Intrusting himself to the hands of some Towara-Kabyle robbers, they conducted him safely through the territory of their people to Iler. There and at Temenet the dense population is chiefly of the Berber race. The Maribda Kabyles received him hospitably. Dr. Lenz discovered that the Atlas range is composed of three parallel chains; that the sand of the Great Desert was not formed by marine action, inasmuch as there were only fresh-water fossils, and that no part of it is below the ocean level. His barometric observations put an end to the scheme of inundating the Western Sahara. At Timbuctoo he was treated kindly, and for about a week was the guest of the head magistrate. He found it to be the chief slave-mart of Western Soodan, and that it supports numerous schools, possesses rich libraries, and is still the center in which the commercial exchanges between the Western Soodan and the Niger on the one hand, and the Sahara and the Mediterranean lands on the other, are conducted. From thence he made his way through the populous lands of the Massina and Bambarra to the Senegal. In all these regions, the work of exploration is mainly progressing through the instrumentality of Christian missionaries.

Careful study of the observations made by this multitude of travelers enables ethnographers, like Keith Johnston, to speak with near approach to certainty of the ethnical characters of the African populations. From the Mediterranean to the twentieth parallel of North latitude the population is mainly Arabic and Turkish. Many Jews and some French are domiciled among them. The Berber of the Atlas system of mountains, the Tuaricks (Tuaryck, Touareg, Tâwarek) and Tibbus of the Sahara, and the Copts of Egypt are of pure blood, or of blood with slight intermixture from foreign sources. The Moors are of mixed descent, native and foreign. "The Moors," says Topinard, "are the result of complex crossing between the Berber and every sort of ethnic element in which the Arab predominates." * From the twentieth parallel of North

* "Anthropology," pp. 461, 462.

latitude to the Cape Colony the Negro tribes are overwhelmingly in the ascendant.

The Copts of Egypt number about 145,000, and are darker than the Arabs. They have flat foreheads, hair of soft and woolly character, noses short but not flat, mouths wide, lips thick, eyes large and bent upward in an angle like those of the Mongols, cheek-bones high, and beards thin. Strains of Greek, Nubian, and Abyssinian blood flow in their veins. Mainly of the sect called Jacobite, Eutychian, Monophysite, and Monothelite, they are very bigoted and hate all other Christians. Sullen, avaricious, deceitful, ignorant, and faithless, they are still among the best clerks, government officials, merchants, and artisans of the country. They speak Arabic; the Coptic language being practically dead.

The countries above Egypt are inhabited by two tribes of people resembling each other in physical character, but of distinct language and origin. One is probably aboriginal, the other foreign. Dr. Prichard terms them Eastern Nubians, or Nubians of the Red Sea, and Nubians of the Nile, or Berberines. All are of red-brown complexion, approaching black, but different from the ebony hue of the Eastern Negroes. The hair is frizzled and thick, yet not as woolly as that of the Guinea Negroes. The Eastern Nubians inhabit the country between the Nile and the Red Sea, and are nomads. The northern division is denominated Ababdeh, who extend northward in the eastern division to Kosseir. On the parallel of Deir they border on the Bishareens. Thence the Bishareens extend to the confines of Abyssinia. The latter are extremely savage and inhospitable, mostly nomadic, and subsist on milk and flesh, sometimes drinking the warm blood of living animals. Their form is handsome, features beautiful, eyes fine and expressive, and complexion dark-brown or chocolate color.

The Nubians of the Nile, Berberines, or Barâbra, resort to Egypt as laborers, inhabit the valleys of the Nile from the southern limit of Egypt to Sennaar, and are distinct from the Arabs, and all the surrounding nations. Addicted to agriculture, arboriculture, and irrigation; honest in business relations, and sincere professors of Islam, they hold the high esteem of the Egyptians. The Barâbra are divided into three sections by dialect; namely, the Nouba, the Kenous, and the Dongolawi.

Dr. Prichard regards them as an offset from the original stock which first peopled Egypt and Nubia.

West of Nubia, beyond and extending into the Libyan Desert, are the Tibbus, who spread over the eastern portions of the Sahara as far as Fezzan and Lake T'sad, the "locality of ancient Libyans or Libyes." Dr. Latham considers their language as probably belonging to the Nubian class. Their color is not uniform. In some it is black, in others copper-colored.* Slim and well-made; their cheek-bones high; noses flat in many, aquiline in others; mouth large; teeth fine; lips often European; eyes expressive, and hair curled, but not woolly. The females are of light and elegant form, and walk in strikingly erect manner.

The Tibbus, called *Tebu* by Dr. Barth—every traveler in Africa having his own particular orthography of its proper names—are chiefly pastoral, keeping horses, sheep, and goats; but camels constitute the principal riches. Dr. Nachtigal describes the Tibbus of Tibesti as of model stature, well-made, elegant and muscular. Color is of all shades between clear bronze and black. The greater number are of dark bronze hue, but have not the slightest trace of Negro physiognomy. Their commerce consists largely of slaves, and is carried on between the Soodan, Fezzan, and Tripoli.

"All that is not Arabic in the kingdom of Morocco," says Dr. Latham, "all that is not Arabic in the French provinces of Algeria, and all that is not Arabic in Tunis, Tripoli, and Fezzan, is Berber." The language of the whole Mediterranean sea-coast between Tripoli and Egypt, and the language of the Sahara, is Berber. "As a general rule," the same writer adds, "the Arabic is the language for the whole of the sea-coast from the Delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the north of the Senegal." The more than twenty different Berber tribes of the Atlas ranges are at perpetual feud with each other; are poor, hardy, and accustomed to privations and hardships. The Shuluh are chiefly huntsmen, but also cultivate the ground. The Kabyles of Algeria and Tunis are industrious farmers and miners, of middle stature, of brown, and sometimes nearly black, complexion. The Tawarek are spread in various tribes over the

* Barth, "Discoveries in North and Central Africa."

greater portion of the Sahara, and are particularly described in the appendixes to the monumental work of Dr. Barth. Very different in point of moral character, they are all fine men —tall, straight, and handsome—physically considered. Abstemious and adventurous, they clothe themselves from head to foot, and cover the face up to the eyes with a black or colored handkerchief.

The Moors of Morocco and the Mediterranean coast are a mixed race, the primitive element being the Mauritanian. Next the Arab blood was infused. After the conquest of Spain they intermarried with the natives of that country, whence they were driven out after holding it for seven centuries. They resemble Europeans and western Asiatics more than Arabs or Berbers. Their language is the Mogrebin dialect of the Arabs. Intellectual, and not wholly unlettered, they are cruel, revengeful, and bloodthirsty. The elegant and graceful chivalry of their ancestors in Spain is not among their attributes. They have been the worst pirates on the Mediterranean, and still show traces of the old habits. In religion they are Mohammedan, in diet temperate, in dress simple, excepting the richer classes. Most are merchants, mechanics, or agriculturists, but there are also many wandering tribes. As artisans, and especially in the manufacture of swords, saddlery, and metallic ornaments, they are very skillful.

Tribes of true Arabic descent are scattered about from the highlands of Abyssinia over Nubia and Egypt, and westward over the central provinces of Waday, Bornoo, Kordofan, and Darfur. Others wander through the Libyan and Saharan Deserts, in the territories of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, and are a totally distinct race from the Kabyles. Adventurers of Arabic origin have subdued native tribes of every nationality, and ruled them as sovereign lords. The differences of color and features observable among the Afric-Arabians are largely due to intermarriage with neighbors.

Jews are numerous in all the towns of North Africa, and are the principal merchants and brokers. Wealthy and vain, they are compelled to hide their riches from the cupidity of native rulers. The Jewesses of Morocco and Algiers are remarkable for personal beauty. The Turks are simply encamped in Africa, and scarcely deserve to be named among the African peoples.

The Abyssinians, as we have already seen, are of mixed blood. Their Christianity is of very superstitious and degraded type, and is gradually succumbing to the pressure of the Mohammedan religion. In morals they are equally fallen. Of copper hue, and with beautifully clear yet languishing eyes, black and crisp, yet not woolly, hair, they are altogether different from the Negroes.

The Negroes are only portions of the numerous offshoots of the Ethiopic stock; "but, between the receding forehead, the projecting cheek-bones, the thick lips, of the Negro of Guinea, and the more straight configuration of the head of a Galla in Abyssinia, there are still many striking analogies; and modern philology having traced still greater analogies, denoting a common origin among the only-apparently disconnected languages of so many thousands of tribes, whose color presents all the hues between the deepest black and the yellow-brown, it is no longer doubtful that the Negro, the Galla, the Somali, and the Caffre all belong to the same ethnological stock." *

A remarkable race of wild nomadic hunters, possibly of Abyssinian extraction, occupies the high plateau which rises between the coast land and the Victoria Nyanza. They bear the appellation of *Wamasai*, *Wakwari*, etc., and are the terror of the more settled inhabitants of the adjacent countries. The Gallas, who roam over an immense tract in Eastern Africa, south of Abyssinia, hold a middle position—in respect of physical conformation—between the Guinea Negro and the Arab and Berber. The face is rounder than that of the Arab, and the nose almost as straight; while the hair, though strongly frizzled, is not as woolly as that of the Negro, nor are the lips so thick. Large of size and of great strength, their color varies between black and deep brown. Some of the women are —for Gallas—remarkably fair. The Somali, originally Arabs, occupy part of the Galla country, and, for the most part, lead a wandering, pastoral life.

Such are the ethnical characters of North and Central Africa, which comprise from seventy-five to a hundred millions of inhabitants. That they are now undergoing further modifications, whose processes will probably be more rapid in the near future, is obvious to those who watch the eventful drama now

* "Encyclopedia Britannica." Ninth edition. 1875.

enacting in the valley of the Nile. The eyes of Christendom rest upon the heroic soldier, and no less heroic Christian, General Gordon, whose personal presence and influence were thought almost, if not quite, sufficient to quell the serious disturbances in the Egyptian Soodan. When appointed by the Khedive governor of Soodan, in addition to the province of the equator and the littoral of the Red Sea, with absolute financial authority, he wrote, under date of February 17, 1877: "It will be my fault if slavery does not cease, and if these vast regions are not open to the world. So there is an end of slavery, if God wills; for the whole secret of the matter is in the government of the Soodan, and if the man who holds that government is against it, it must cease."

The Khedive wrote to Gordon subsequently, saying: "Use all the powers I have given you; take every step you think necessary; punish, change, dismiss all officials as you please." Gordon's firman was read to a crowd at Khartoum, the capital of his government. Missionaries and merchants, priests and ulemas, consuls, cadis, and fellaheen, all crowded to see him. "But," said an eye-witness, "it is, above all, the poor country people who look upon him as their saviour."

His hopes were not realized. Islam, cupidity, and ingrained habit thwarted his benign purpose. He checked, but did not end, the slave-trade. During three weeks of April, 1880, five convoys of slaves arrived in Egypt from Kordofan, Sennaar, and Darfur. On the 20th more than 900 slaves openly entered Siout—300 miles from Cairo.

Prior to this, on the 8th of August, 1879, Ismael, Khedive of Egypt, was deposed and replaced by his son Mohammed Tewfik. Events followed each other with startling rapidity. In 1882, the British subdued the revolt of Arabi Pasha. Another revolt broke out simultaneously in the remote provinces of the Soodan, where the inhabitants grievously suffered from the confiscations, oppressive taxes, cruelty, and still more from the corrupt officials and farmers of taxes of the Egyptians. The rebels are Negroes, with an occasional infusion of Arab blood. These dark races are fanatical Moslems, brave and hardy, and were the best soldiers in the Egyptian army. Mohammed Achmet, born in Dongola, west of the Nile, a boat-builder by trade, proclaimed himself to be El Mahdi, the

expected successor of the Great Prophet, and the deliverer of the people. The superstitious and oppressed flocked to his standard. So did the Baggara Arabs, the former slave-hunters of the White Nile. Victor in successive encounters with the Egyptians, he marched upon Sennaar, after his triumph near Kordofan, and for several months was sole master of the Soodan.

The Soodanese have shown themselves to be no contemptible antagonists. At Abu Harras, on the right bank of the Blue Nile, where Mohammed Taha, who styled himself the vizier of the Mahdi, was defeated by Geigler Pasha,

> the leader of the insurgents came out to meet them [the Egyptians] surrounded by hundreds of praying dervishes, and followed by his warriors and all the women and children. The fanatics allowed themselves to be decimated without faltering, until the scherif, whose seemingly charmed life inspired the soldiers with superstitious fear, was at last struck by a bullet. Then they scattered, pursued by the savage soldiery, who spared none.

Sennaar was recovered, but in Kordofan El Mahdi was victorious. When El Obeid surrendered to him, Iskander Bey, the commandant, and the larger portion of the garrison, accepted service under his banner. Three hundred and thirty-eight thousand warriors now followed his standard. From Kordofan he advanced with 300,000 Soodanese, to meet the Egyptian army, under Hicks Pasha, and inflicted an annihilating defeat. All the camels, stores, and munitions, with thirty-six Nordenfeldt, Krupp, and mountain guns, fell into his hands. Colonel Coetlogen, who was almost the only surviving European in the Soodan, and next in command, collected the scattered remnants of the Egyptian forces at Khartoum and other important posts.

Sennaar now declared for El Mahdi. The Bedouins of the coast joined the rebellion, and the whole Soodan became involved, with the exception of the fortified trading-posts. The movement threatened to extend to the Arabs of Asia, and to break the power of the Sultan of Turkey. Thence it might pass into India, inflame the passions of the Moslems there, and cause a repetition of all the horrors of the Sepoy mutiny. Great Britain was obliged to take Egyptian affairs into her own hands. British interests in the Delta and in the Suez Canal were violently menaced. The interposition of Turkey could not be admitted, nor could the Egyptians be left to " stew in

their own juice," as it was phrased. The Khedive was compelled to submit to the humiliating measures proposed by Great Britain; and to secure the alliance of the King of Abyssinia by consenting to the cession of the port of Massowah, and the abandonment of a great part of the Soodan, drawing the new frontier on a line from Suakin through Berber to Khartoum. In the winter of 1883–84, Osman Digna, the leader of the slave-dealing coast Arabs, acting independently, and yet in relation to El Mahdi, inflicted crushing defeats on the Egyptians on the east coast. Suakin was the only remaining post that could offer effective resistance. Belief in the irresistible destiny of El Mahdi paralyzed the courage of the troops, and convinced both foreign and native officers of the futility of any further attempts on their part to check his progress. The brilliant exploits of the British troops in the same region have since humbled the pride of Osman Digna, and done much toward the probable ultimate success of the British expedition, by way of the Nile, against El Mahdi.

Britain has a providential commission to execute there. Her sublime mission is to abolish slavery, establish beneficent commercial relations, and introduce that Christianity which will take up the work of ethnically-unifying Islam, and cause the unity in diversity of the human race to be apparent under conditions of truth, justice, and love.

The African race has attained its present civilization through the white race, notably from the Arabs. In order to raise itself to a higher civilization, it has need of a new initiation. To the white race, consequently, belongs the initiative in the development of the common civilization.*

The grand purposes of the Almighty march on to their ultimate accomplishment. Christian civilization is bent upon the redemption of the "Dark Continent." Faith working by love is the golden line to be stretched across that boiling caldron of warring races—a line around which the different divisions shall crystallize—in distinction and yet in unity, in difference and yet at peace.

* M. d'Eichthal, "Bulletin de la Societé Ethnologique de Paris, 1847."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

READING THE HYMNS.

SEVERAL weeks since two successive numbers of "The Independent" contained each a contributed article devoted to the reading of hymns, as a part of the exercises of public worship. First, Professor Townsend, of the Boston School of Theology, recognizing the especially infelicitous style in which this part of the service is often rendered, proceeded to point out, somewhat "professionally," how it should be done. Some of his suggestions are unquestionably good; but our observation of readings in poetry, and especially of hymns, by professional elocutionists, has not increased our confidence in the prospect of any considerable relief from this confessed evil by any of the ordinary rules of the rhetoricians. As with artistic music, so with artistic readings, both are but ill adapted to the requirements of public worship. The second paper is by Professor Harris, of Andover Seminary, who proposes to obviate the whole difficulty by entirely omitting that part of the service, which may remind one of the quack doctor's method for curing his patient—let him die, and that will make an end of the disease. The reasons urged for this are in the form of facts, which in nearly every case belong to the category of false facts. "It retards the progress of the service," he tells us; which, however, cannot be the case, if it is itself a part of the service, as it should be, and (as it is capable of being made) an important and especially interesting part. This assumption, that reading the hymn is not properly a legitimate part of the service, runs through all the plea for its disuse, and the whole objection falls if that assumption is set aside.

It is conceded that our non-liturgical worship is liable to suffer from want of attention to the æsthetical element, which is so intimately related to public worship; and but for which Church music of any kind would be out of place. The public reading of the Scriptures needs no defense; and though the lesson may be an entirely familiar one, its reading is not for that reason any the less acceptable or profitable. The sermon itself may present nothing really new, but be simply made up of "the old, old story," so often told in our hearing, and with which we have been familiar from our childhood. One might, at less expense of time and labor, read quite as good sermons at home—if wisely selected, much better ones than the average of pulpit discourses—and yet we do not plead for no sermon from the pulpit. The services of the house of God are not to be tried by the rules of either the concert or the lecture; they have other and higher purposes, and their exercises are to be directed by other rules. And these, properly understood and reduced to practice, will much more

than simply justify the reading from the pulpit of the hymns that are to be used by the choir or the congregation, as the case may be. In passing, it may be observed that the hymns, as to their sense and meaning, can be heard in the church only as they are read; for, unless helped by the book, the worshipers in most cases will be as ignorant of the words of the hymn ostensibly being sung as they would be if the language used were Italian or Choctaw. And as between private reading, whether at home or in the pew, and the public presentation, either "said or sung," the preference must be conceded to the latter, if at all well rendered. So in the lack of intelligible articulation in the singing, the reading of the hymns is all that the congregation can have of these "aids to devotion."

In non-liturgical worship, the hymns chiefly supply the place of the ritual; the "hymnal" holds the place of the prayer-book or the breviary. Every argument that can be offered in favor of "common prayer" applies with larger emphasis to congregational singing; and yet, in the peculiar condition of musical education among us, that style of worship has become very nearly impossible. We have been educated beyond the inartistic melodies of the past age, when quantity of voice compensated for any deficiency of correct musical rendering; but yet we remain, scarcely less than were our fathers, without musical training as to both performance and appreciation; and our choirs, away in the organ-lofts, seem to regard it as no part of their business to cause the silent occupants of the pews to recognize any thing but the mingling of sweet, but inarticulated, sounds. The rationale of placing the music at the farthest possible remove from the congregation, and in the most complete isolation, is among the unexplained mysteries which fail to excite surprise simply because we have become familiar with them. Sympathy, at such long range, is not easily awakened, and to average church-goers, that part of the service is something as to which they feel themselves to be spectators rather than participants. In nearly all American churches fashionable music is, by the mass of attendants, endured rather than enjoyed; and those who have come with a sincere desire to worship and be edified, must wait in exemplary patience for the "performance" to end, and something appreciable to take its place. So far as instruction and stirring up the mind to spiritual thoughts and aspirations is the object to be sought for in public worship, about the only available good to be derived from the hymns must come from their being heard from the pulpit rather than from the organ-loft.

The old-style method of "lining" the hymns," now quite antiquated, was not without its advantages. Words and sentences uttered by the living voice are vastly more effective than when simply presented to the thought through the eye; and then the retention of the words and forms of speech in the memory, that they might be sung a little later, tended to command closer attention and to fix them permanently in the memory. And there is but little room to doubt that church-going people of fifty years ago, among whom the hymns were "lined," were much more familiar with the contents of their hymn-books than are their children

and grandchildren. The Wesleyans in England still practice the time-honored usage with slight modifications. They usually first read the whole hymn through, often six six-line stanzas (they make much use of the 6-8 measures), and then they repeat it, verse by verse, as it is sung. The practice evidently improves the performance, for they are generally good readers of hymns, while with us there are very few such. A hymn properly read is also interpreted in the reading, and its chief points are emphasized and made impressive. There is all the difference in the world between the mere recitation of a few lines of poetry, and rendering the piece in such a manner that the soul of the reader shall go out with his words to the hearts of the hearers. It may be doubted whether by any other method so much of the very best forms of scriptural theology can be taught—not as dry dogmas, but as living spiritual verities—as by a judicious use of our hymns; but in order to this, the reader must himself be in sympathy with their spirit; must have rooted in his mind and heart what he reads; and must render this service not merely perfunctorily, but as an integral part of the worship of the house of the Lord.

PHILOSOPHICO-THEOLOGIZING.

It is a remarkable but a very obvious truth, that one's own failures seldom convince him that he is not still entirely competent to teach others how to succeed; and accordingly your thoroughly "played-out" genius usually assumes to speak oracularly concerning the things as to which he has most surely demonstrated his incompetency. Accordingly, Mr. O. B. Frothingham, whose name is sufficient introduction to our readers, and who has certainly proved a most conspicuous failure as a religious teacher, and at length has abandoned not only the pulpit but also the Church, seems now to expect that he will still be regarded as quite competent to dispose of all the great questions respecting the subjective phenomena of "religious experience," and therefore he asks us, in a late number of the "North American Review," to sit at his feet and learn of him.

It must not be supposed, however, that when he talks about "conversion" he uses that word as one of the cant expressions of those from whom he differs. Quite the contrary; he includes himself among the "all religious people (who) believe in a *new life* as the condition of spiritual peace and contentment, and of that tranquillity of soul in which is supreme felicity." All who are familiar with the dialect of the class of *quasi*-religionists, in which Mr. Frothingham must be reckoned—though the classification is rather loose—know very well that almost the whole vocabulary of evangelical religion has been made to do service in setting forth their "other gospel." They can talk as readily as any revivalist or mystic of "the new birth," "change of heart," "sacrifice," and "consecration;" and, indeed, of whatever is understood by evangelical believers as precisely indicative of the very things as to which they and their "liberal" antagonists are diametrically separated. But a very lit-

tle attention to their utterances makes it manifest, that while the words are the same the sense is wholly different. It is not their method, however, to openly reject and antagonize that which real Christians hold to be fundamental and indispensable, but to ignore all these, and then by another form of teaching to infuse new meanings into the language used, and so to divert the whole train and substance of thinking toward new, and distinctively other, modes and tendencies. It is known that in adopting the Greek language as a vehicle for the deep spiritual truths of the Gospel, new meanings were infused into the terminology of that classical language; insomuch that a lexicon of the ancient Greek is not a proper exponent of the Greek of the New Testament. A reverse course is now pursued; and the language of the religious life is, by a process of evisceration, compelled to indicate an unspiritual naturalism. The word and its cognates, which in the New Testament is used to indicate evangelical repentance, in its classical use implies simply "consideration" and "change of proceeding," in respect to either methods or objects. Accordingly, it is now the fashion to restore to this word (and others in like manner) its old heathen import, and so reduce the repentance of the Gospel to a "reformation" of life and manners more or less thorough and far-reaching.

The great and controlling design of the so-called liberal pulpit and press of the present time is to eliminate the supernatural from religion. Just as the Scientists have been especially concerned to get rid of God in nature, so are these, above all else, solicitous that their theology shall have the least possible of God in it. And as those find in nature the "promise and potency" of all the phenomena of the material world, so these profess to be able not only to explain all the phenomena of mind without going beyond itself, but also to provide for all the wants of humanity from within itself. And so neither class has any use for God. The language of Scripture is very freely employed by these writers and preachers; but clearly not to teach what must be believed, but only for illustration and ornamentation. As one would quote words and phrases from Shakespeare or Milton in literature, or Bacon in philosophy, or Blackstone in law, so these employ the words of Scripture, for only secondary purposes. To the ingenuous reader who comes to the Bible that he may learn from it what is the truth, its teachings are scarcely capable of being misunderstood, for there are manifest in all its parts and in its totality a tone and tendency of spirit and a trend and drift of thought that cannot be mistaken; and by these the willing and believing will be almost infallibly guided into all needful truth. But if it is used only as a collection of historical illustrations, and of wise or not so wise sayings, the language of the Bible may be made the vehicle for a merely soulless naturalism. The process by which the words of Scripture are made to do service for the "liberal" theology affords a remarkable instance of what may be accomplished by unrestrained skill and ingenuity in replacing the substance of a thing by other matter without destroying its form, very much as a mass of so-called petrified wood retains its original outline, but none

of its substance. The fault of the system of thinking and believing of which Mr. Frothingham is eminently the representative, is not that its assumptions and conclusions are wrong as details of a system fundamentally correct, but that it is wholly and fundamentally wrong. Its God is not He whom the Bible reveals; its Christ is not the man of Nazareth and Calvary; its Spirit is not the divine one, but it is human; and its whole substance is not of heaven, but of the earth. It may, indeed, embody some things in themselves not unlike what may be found in the Gospel, just as similar details may be found in the most diverse specimens of natural history; but these in neither case disprove the essential distinctiveness of the two objects. In this case they are Christ and Belial. This may be seen in what are Mr. Frothingham's ideas of the nature of conversion and what are its conditions and resultant phenomena; which, though nowhere expressed in single phrases, are clearly enough seen in the course of his remarks. As it is simply a "turning," it may or may not indicate repentance in the writer's own naturalistic sense of that word, for he who has not gone astray need not turn again. Essentially, it is simply a *good education*—intellectual, æsthetical, and moral. Its only necessary conditions are opportunities and teachableness, and its results are good character and conduct, estimated according to conventional standards.

These, it will be seen, ignore and practically disallow all of the distinctive Christian characteristics of the subject. The "holiness" which, according to Scripture, is the ethical ideal of the divine character, subsisting in burning intensity, is reduced to the shadowy and uncertain, and at best unelevated, "virtue" of the Roman stoic. "Sin," the opposite pole to God's holiness in the ethical *cosmos*, appears simply as a more or less widely "missing the mark," by falling short or going beyond, or by aberrations to the right hand or the left—only an incompleteness, to be regretted rather than censured, and certainly not to be avenged. Such notions of the fundamental doctrines upon which all practical religions must be based render void, preposterous, and often odious, the distinctive doctrines of the evangelical Churches. The minified estimation of sin reduces guilt to a minimum, and so makes a deep and pungent "conviction of sin" the fancy of a disordered mind—perhaps the effect of a disordered liver. The only allowable atonement for sin is found in reformation and restitution, which become "vicarious" wherever there is a community of interests either good or bad, and in the exercise of kindly offices among men. For the Christ of the New Testament and the Church there is no place in such a system. If the historical Christ shed his blood for others than himself, so have thousands of others, perhaps quite as freely. If he died a martyr to his own teachings, so did Socrates to his; and so, in less conspicuous ways, have done untold multitudes of men and women. And because the Christ of the Gospels was at best only one of the great and good men of the world, Mr. Frothingham and those of the same way of thinking do well to refuse to specially honor him by consenting to be called Christians.

It is especially noticeable that in his crusade against the Christian doctrines, of which that of "conversion" is among the most considerable, Mr. F. found himself opposed to all parts and divisions of the Christian Church; and that by closer inspection it appears that between Catholics and Protestants the teachings of the latter are to him much the more objectionable, and among Protestants those are most astray, and most to be antagonized, who hold closely and tenaciously to the specifically evangelical doctrines. And yet he finds the nearest approach to the realization of his ideal in a "school of thought" in one of our less numerous nominal Protestant sects, "the Broad-Churchmen," whose title to this partiality may be the fact, assigned by another for a like preference, that they never trouble themselves about *politics* or *religion*. They "welcome every kind of culture;" are "indifferent to the current topics of theology;" and their "conception of Christ" is altogether "spiritual," so making him only a spiritual man in their own low sense of spirituality. It is, however, a real and valuable service rendered to the truth when the irreconcilable difference between the doctrines of the Gospel and those of rationalistic naturalism are thus clearly set forth in their essential antagonism.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF CONVERSION."

The startling announcement made by the young Prophet of Galilee to the learned Jewish ruler, that in order to be found within the kingdom of grace a man must be "born again," elicited from the great man an expression of wonder and perplexity which took form in the question, "How can these things be?" From that time onward that question has continued to be asked, but it has never been answered. The fact that such a work is necessary is conceded by very many, including not a few of those with whom that young Galilean has not been accepted as a competent instructor; and though some have made tentative but abortive attempts toward the detection of its impulsive force, and of its processes, the more rationally thoughtful have conceded its practical insolubility.

In an article in the October number of the "North American Review," whose title stands at the head of this paper, Mr. O. B. Frothingham discusses this subject with characteristic acumen and force; but he reaches results that can be satisfactory to very few of his readers. Incidentally, however, some notable concessions are made, with some of which we are now chiefly concerned. Respecting the inconceivableness of the processes of a fundamental moral transformation he remarks, with a degree of force and clearness that may be commended to some dogmatizing philosophical theologians who profess to be able to solve all mysteries, but who so flatter themselves only because of the superficialness of their views:

> Nothing is more incomprehensible than the moral process of reformation. To change one's mind permanently and resolutely; to take a new view of human

nature and human life, of providence and duty, of the world of causes and effects; to turn about and face in the opposite direction—is an altogether unaccountable thing.

This is strong language; and yet it is noticeably in agreement with what we read in the Bible—as when the prophet likens the perversity of the heart, in its unchangeableness, to the leopard's spots and the Ethiopian's skin, or when Joshua says to Israel, 'Ye cannot serve the Lord," or when Paul recognizes the invincibleness of the law of sin "in his members," effectually constraining him to do "the evil that he would not." Our Lord, in reply to the doubting query of Nicodemus, makes no attempt to solve this mystery, but concedes its inexplicability, while he reaffirms the fact itself. Like the phenomena of the wind, which are certain but inexplicable, so are the processes of regeneration. The claim which some make in favor of the sufficiency of the human will to effectuate such a change is simply nonsense of the most arrant kind; very much as if one should pretend to be able to lift himself by his boot-straps.

Any fundamental and essential change of moral character, in either direction, can be effected only by a power operating upon the subject *ab extra*—from beyond himself. As the stream cannot rise above its fountain-head, so the forces by which the established substratum of the moral character shall be removed and replaced must originate in a source beyond and above the subject of which such a moral nature is a predicate. Even Pelagianism did not assert the possibility of self-conversion; for, by disallowing that the human heart is so really bad as to require any essential change, it obviated the necessity of conversion; and, therefore, if any finally fail of eternal life, their falling away occurs in themselves individually, and not as the consequence of coming short of an originally necessary spiritual transformation. The problem of conversion is only one side of the broader one which includes all and any possible fundamental changes of moral character in either direction. The beginning of moral evil—that is, SIN, in the divine dominions—is a mystery, not only of the divine administration, but deeper still of essential possibility. Man, created in God's moral likeness, fell into sin; not by the spontaneous action of his free will, but by yielding to an impulse originating beyond himself. Nor is it possible to conceive that a moral agent, all of whose impulses are essentially good, and tend only to righteousness, could begin and prosecute and consummate a process of sinning against himself, as well as against God. And now, being alienated from God, first in character and afterward in life, to reverse the eccentric and downward course of his nature—to change its polarity and turn its gravitation Godward—is certainly beyond the soul's inherent powers. As to its originating force, therefore, the work of conversion is not only beyond the range of our philosophy, but it is directly contrary to its certain requirements. Mr. Frothingham, who represents a not inconsiderable school of thought, even after granting the inexplicability of the beginning of the process, assumes to teach what must be its rationale, in doing which he most inconsistently reduces the whole matter to a system of naturalism.

His references to the methods and practices of religious teachers of various schools to promote conversions, which are in some things pertinent and judicious but usually quite otherwise, have no bearing upon the subject covered by the title chosen by himself for his discussion; which is not about the methods used to bring about that work, but the nature of the work itself. Respecting this process the following excerpt, presenting Coleridge's doctrine of "The Redemption of the Will," may not be out of place. (See "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1853.)

> We are thus brought to the consideration of the conversion and regeneration of the will; its emancipation from the thralldom of original sin by the destruction or removal of that principle or power from the soul. If indeed the depravation of the will is complete, such a restoration can be effected only by a power operating from beyond its own being. This, in theological language, would be a redemption by free grace. Whether there is such a redemption provided beyond himself for man, is primarily a question lying outside of the range of philosophy. That it is a possibility, though it is not susceptible of proof, *a priori*, no one can deny. Though we are at no time conscious of the presence of such a renovating power acting upon our spiritual being, that negative fact is no argument against it, since the point of its access is beyond the range of self-consciousness.

Here again Coleridge shall speak for himself:

> If any reflecting mind be surprised that the aids of the divine Spirit should be deeper than our consciousness can reach, it must arise from the not having attended sufficiently to the nature and necessary limits of human consciousness. For the same impossibility exists as to the first acts and movements of our own will—the furthest distance our recollection can follow back, the traces never lead us to the first foot-marks; the lowest depth that the light of consciousness can visit, even with a doubtful glimmering, is still at an unknown distance from the ground.—*Works*, vol. i, pp. 153, 154. (American Edition.)

But although the efficient cause of the conversion of the soul is beyond the range of philosophical inquiry, there is nothing in the supposition of a divine agency in that work to conflict with reason. The divine Spirit operates in secret, but the effects are manifest; and as in all other manifestations of the divine power, in nature no less than in grace, these things become assured to us by their phenomenal results. We know nothing of the secret causes of any thing, but only the facts, and in this the mysteries of the spiritual *cosmos* are no greater than those of the material.

If through its own lack of spiritual power the soul has become enslaved to the depraved elements of the personal character, the power even to will what is good must come from an extraneous source. For this lack the scheme revealed in the Gospel makes provision by postulating the presence and efficiency of the aids of the Spirit, emancipating the will, and inclining it to choose the better part. And herein is seen the basis of personal responsibility in the case; and when the force of the will is united to those of the divine Spirit, the work of conversion is then and there effectuated, and the sinner, delivered from his own carnality, becomes through grace "a new creature." All the efficiency is divine, and yet it is conditioned on the will of the subject; and whenever these concur conversion ensues, at *once* and *completely*. "If any man be in Christ, he is [now, at once] a new creature" (*καινὴ κτίσις.*)

RIGHT AND WRONG USES OF THE BIBLE.

A very suggestive paper appeared not very long ago in "The Christian Advocate" (New York), written by one of our younger ministers, entitled "The Microscopic Study of the Bible." Though shut up to the narrow limits of a newspaper article, the writer successfully points out some of the obvious infelicities of certain largely practiced and much-praised methods of studying the Bible. His aim is to show that minute criticism of the words and phrases employed is unfavorable to the adequate understanding of a discourse or any writing, and therefore that in that direction the kind of criticism which he described by the epithet "microscopic" is unfavorable to right interpretation; a position which he fortifies with abundant proofs and illustrations.

The fault aimed at is found chiefly among pretenders—purposed or otherwise—to superior skill in biblical interpretation. There are many such, who are nothing if they are not critical; whose lack of thorough learning unfits them for what they attempt, or who, if sufficiently learned in certain minor points, having attended only to the verbal forms of Scripture, have failed to appreciate its teachings in their aggregate completeness. The whole process is one of dissection, and the examination of the dissected parts, by tracing the etymology of words, and drawing out the rhetorical contents of phrases and sentences; a process which some one compares to that of an anatomist who should hold up an excavated eye-ball as an illustration of the beauty of the human face. In opposition to this method it may be said that words and sentences, wrought into discourses, are not simply isolated signs of ideas, but constituent elements of a composite thought, and therefore the whole taken together must determine their specific sense in each particular case. Too much attention to minor details—to single words and individual sentences—may operate adversely to the proper understanding of the scope and purpose of the discourse as a whole.

The misleading tendency of this form of criticism is so manifest that it needs no demonstration. It is well known, however, that it has been extensively employed in the interpretation of the Bible, and its destructive results have been ostentatiously proclaimed; and it has also been successfully combated, and its power to do harm has been largely neutralized. But the evil deprecated appears also in a modified form among the uneducated. The use of the Bible "in the vulgar tongue," by the common people, with the accompanying right of private judgment, all of which must be accepted and approved as of the very essence of Protestantism, is not without its possible dangers. The Anabaptists and the "Fifth Monarchy" men were great Bible readers; but coming to the Bible with strong but unintelligent preconceptions, they of course found abundant proofs to sustain the opinions they brought with them. The same thing was seen in the Adventist (Millerite) excitement of forty years ago, and the Premillenarians of the present day, though more sober,

and some of them better learned, are their lineal descendants. The sincerity of all these classes of persons need not be called in question, for their mistakes, however disastrous, were the logical results of their faulty method of using the Bible. And the same remark will apply to nearly all specifically sectarian opinions, even those of the Shakers and the Mormons, who also pretend to be guided by the Bible.

The saying of the mother of Adam Bede, in her discussion with her "Methody" son, Seth, that "You Methodies have a wonderful way of getting more out of a text than there is in it," no doubt contains a just criticism, which is capable of a much wider application. The fashion of "improving" the text for religious uses, by which the language is sometimes clearly perverted, and at other times strange and alien meanings are forced into the words and images, belongs to the same wrong method. And of this there are many examples in high places. The headings affixed to the several Psalms and the chapters of our English Bible are usually forced constructions appearing with a false pretense to authority; and yet the Bible Society prints them as part of "the Holy Scripture without note or comment." The use of reference texts is another case in point, for these, though perhaps not wholly without value, are certainly only human interpretations, and as such not always the most felicitous. The proof texts found in some famous catechisms and confessions present another example of the inapt and mistaken use of the words of Scripture, many of them being entirely irrelevant as proofs, and others having no likeness to those with which they are collated except in the English words, the same one being used for wholly different ones in the original. It has been well said that the terms and phrases of the English Bible have become, by reason of their unintelligent use, *asphyxiated*, so as to mean nothing, or *depolarized*, and transformed into new and strange senses.

The Bible, though *one*, is also many; and its lessons, though found in all its parts, are nowhere presented as a formulated system. Its unity is found in the one spirit that pervades it in its entirety. Its truths and doctrines are to be learned, not so much from direct and specific statements, as from the drift of its expressions and the trend of its ideas; and these are so certain and manifest that any ordinarily-intelligent reader, using no tongue but his own vernacular, and having only an approximately correct version of the sacred original Scriptures, will scarcely ever fail to be guided to the apprehension of all needful truth—enough to show him his duties and to confirm his faith and hope. It is a mistake, therefore, to use the Bible as one would use a catechism or a confession of faith, or even as a theological treatise. It indeed "contains sufficiently all doctrines required of necessity for eternal salvation;" but its teachings are nowhere formulated, nor set forth in definite articles to be believed. It presents no systematic statements of the "Economy of the Covenants;" it not, in the precise sense, a "Body of Divinity;" has no "Philosophy of the Plan of Redemption," nor "Theory of the Atonement;" and it affords very little material out of which the most fruitful fancy can construct a

"Physical Theory of the Future Life." But it tells of God and Christ; and to the soul illuminated by the promised Comforter it reveals the reality of sin and salvation, and eternal life after death. And these things, though hidden from "the wise and prudent,"—that is, the verbal critics,—are revealed to "babes," who seek for them in the written word with simple faith. To find out all saving truth we need neither the microscope nor the telescope, but only faith in God and common sense.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

An election for the chief magistrate of the nation has been held, and the result duly ascertained. The event largely engrossed the public attention of the country during the latter half of the closing year, and a spectacle was presented which to some minds appeared as the sublime movement of ten millions of free citizens recording their preferences, and then calmly accepting the public verdict and loyally rallying to the support of the elect of the nation. To others it appeared as the quadrennial spasm of the politicians, contending for power and spoils by means and methods quite the opposite of honorable and edifying. Both of these views are probably correct in part; and, because we like to believe what is pleasant, we accept the former as the more truthful rendering of the case; not denying, however, that if the latter were equally acceptable the evidence of its correctness would be sufficient.

The most remarkable fact in the late election was, that both of the great parties went into the canvass without any well-defined political issues; and so the contest was clearly less for administrative measures and principles than for men and for parties—which, in the absence of great principles, are simply factions. The politics of the country seem to be greatly disordered and mixed, with an almost entire lack of definite ideas of statesmanship, practical or speculative; and the evident attitude of both the parties toward nearly all the issues of the times which command the attention and awaken the zeal of earnest men has brought the best and the most thoughtful classes of the people into great perplexities. There is, indeed, no lack of living issues before the American people, but all these have been carefully ignored by the parties, or so referred to as to be entirely unsatisfactory. The result of all this is, that a large contingent, made up of the very best class of citizens, have found themselves "outside of politics," some not voting at all, and others doing so with strong mental protests.

Tried by their antecedents and historical records, the two parties are very clearly distinguished each from the other, and men of the class referred to have heretofore had no difficulty in choosing between them. But the citizen's obligations cannot be relegated to a party, nor can the past record, instead of the present status, of a party command the confidence of intelligent and patriotic citizens. The policy and measures to

promote which the Republican party was called into existence have passed into history, either by their successful accomplishment or by changes in public affairs which render them no longer open questions. But other matters have come to the front, in respect to which the representatives of that party, speaking through their conventions or by the press, are either entirely silent or painfully indefinite, or possibly on the wrong side. Evidently the Republican party of to-day is not the same, in either character or purpose, with that of thirty years ago, and therefore the reasons that impelled men to give it their support at the beginning no longer exist. And as a controlling portion of that party as it was during the years of its ascendency adhered to it, and gave it their support only because they approved its policy and measures, now that these no longer distinguish it their interest in it has ceased. That party had made, indeed, a highly honorable history so long as it pursued its original designs; but that course terminated eight years ago, since which date it has made another and a very different record.

Its Southern policy ceased to be pursued at the accession of President Hayes, who, having been elected by the help of the votes of South Carolina and Louisiana, allowed the governors of those States, chosen at the same election and by larger majorities than his own, to be excluded from their places by manifest fraud and violence. During the subsequent eight years that party has had the presidency, and most of the time one or both of the houses of Congress; and what is the record that has been made? Probably during no other equal term of years in the whole history of the country has there been so much of the very worst kind of legislation by Congress, every part of which the party could and should have prevented. The reader will readily think of the silver coinage law, which was enacted for purely fraudulent purposes, and passed over the president's veto by two thirds of both houses. The anti-Chinese law, which we need not characterize, belongs to the same category; and so, too, does the river and harbor "steal," and the succession of "land grabs;" none of which could have become laws without the votes of Republicans, and against none of which has that party, as such, openly protested. It is not strange, then, that the citizen whose party ties are not stronger than his love of the right should, with some degree of disgust and righteous indignation, separate himself from such an association, and refuse to sustain it by his vote.

But where shall he go? and with whom shall he vote? There can be but two principal political parties in the country, one or the other of which will have the control of public affairs; and therefore the overthrow of one of these must be by the exaltation of the other and its installation in power. As things stood at the late election the defeat of the Republicans was equivalent to the success of the Democrats. And what is there in either the history or the declared purposes of that party to entitle it to the confidence, and to win for it the support, of virtuous and patriotic citizens? Thoughtful men have learned to expect that in any issue involving moral elements it will be on the wrong side. To rehearse its

history, extending over the life-time of the generation now living, would be to convict it of almost every possible form of political wrong. It championed the cause of slavery, and labored for its perpetuation and its virtual extension over the whole country; and when it had nursed treason into active war against the national life, it stood by the side of the government, like Satan at the right hand of the high-priest, to resist, and if possible to defeat, its efforts to preserve the nation's life. The existence of the nation in the form given to it by the fathers of '76 and '88, is in spite of the utmost efforts of the Democratic party during the country's greatest perils. Nor has there been any sign that time has wrought in it any change for the better. The alliterative indictment recently uttered against it by implication—very inopportunely, perhaps, because, as is often the case with the words of the "*enfant terrible*," it was eminently true—that it is the patron of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," is undeniably just, and, as matters stand, the nation's choice is between these things and their opposites.

It is manifest, however, that the Republican party has ceased to command the confidence of a large class of its former supporters, without whose support it cannot hope to succeed, and for the want of their votes it has now suffered defeat. The rights of colored citizens in the South are no doubt systematically and grossly violated, but neither party proposed any redress; why, then, should either be preferred? The public mind is becoming sensitively alive to the abominations of the liquor traffic; but neither party has responded to the public demand for its suppression. The intelligence and conscience of the nation recognize the bad faith and the fundamental iniquity of the anti-Chinese legislation of Congress, which both parties approve; and while the currency of the country—now the best in the world—is menaced with the danger of a depreciation of one sixth in real value, with the utter derangement of the finances of the country, it is not forgotten that that peril is the joint product of both the parties. It is no doubt true that the *personnel* of the Republican party is better than that of the Democratic; it is, however, about equally evident that the less scrupulous and conscientious portion of that party has for a series of years had the ascendency in its counsels. Good men have become tired of voting for men whom they know to be corrupt, and of sustaining bad measures, lest by failing to do so worse men and measures might prevail. Wisely or otherwise they are practically saying that, if iniquity is to prevail, they are not solicitous to have the selection of its agents.

There never was a time in our history when the affairs of the nation called more loudly than just now for intelligent and patriotic statesmanship, but the call is practically disregarded by both parties. To say nothing respecting the opposite theories of free trade and protection, it is conceded on both sides that a readjustment of the tariff, and a reduction of taxation, are highly desirable. But high duties are demanded by the great manufacturing companies, for whose benefit the whole body of the people are compelled to make contributions in the form of unnecessarily

high prices for nearly all kinds of fabrics. Because a plethoric treasury is a "bonanza" for all who live by public plunder, therefore high duties are, for them, a necessity. The internal revenue, as the laws now stand, is derived almost wholly from taxes on whisky and tobacco; and because the money is not needed, it is demanded that these taxes shall be reduced, and so a high tariff is called for that whisky may be free.

Our system of national highways, now owned and managed by individuals, or private and irresponsible corporations, whose resources of wealth and power enable them to both corrupt and defy the government, and which are freely and flagrantly used for both these purposes, calls loudly for heroic treatment, to undertake which neither party seems disposed. The telegraphic system, which has become the rival of the Post-Office Department, is scarcely at all amenable to law, and the interests of the whole people, in what has become a general necessity, are almost entirely without protection. The relations of labor and capital, in which are involved some of the highest and most delicate interests, and also the greatest perils of the nation, appear to be uncared for by our statesmen and parties; and society is left to drift onward toward manifest disasters and ruin. The educational system of the country, especially in respect to primary education, is becoming year by year less adequate to the demands made upon it by the wants of the people. Illiteracy is rapidly increasing, and the proportion of wholly uneducated citizens—voters, jurymen, and possible public officers, is growing steadily larger,—but our parties, politicians, and statesmen seem to be almost entirely oblivious to the whole affair; and while the ship of state is nearing the cataract the mariners are contending for the spoils. It has been often asserted, and with at least partial truthfulness, that the issues upon which the Republican party was founded have ceased to be living questions; and since that party has not adapted itself to the new condition of the country, and because the Democratic party has always shown itself incapable of grappling with any of the great problems of the government, the intelligent and patriotic citizens of the commonwealth find themselves without a party. But such disintegrations have occurred at other times, to be followed by new and better combinations than the defunct ones had become, because they looked only to the past, and failed to adjust themselves to the requirements of the present and the surely coming events of the future. The party that now becomes the "opposition" has before it the alternatives of readjustment and new adaptations to the demands of the times, or disintegration after the manner of its illustrious predecessor, the great Whig party. Which?

PRIVATE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC LIFE.

The contestants in the late political canvass dealt very freely with the private lives and characters of the chief candidates for the presidency. This gave to it an unpleasant aspect, from which many persons turned away with disgust; but it also involved considerations which may not be

disregarded because they suggest distasteful thoughts. To refuse to recognize the vices which are known to be corrupting society indicates the decay of the moral tone, and is to sacrifice virtue through a false and superficial delicacy. Vice detected, and openly called by its right name, is robbed of half its corrupting power.

When, in June last, the convention of the Republican party nominated its candidate for the presidency, the announcement was received with marked disfavor by a not inconsiderable portion of those who had hitherto acted and voted with that party. They objected to the nomination because they held that it had been made at the behest of the worst elements of the party, and because it was believed that the candidate was himself of the same class of politicians; and that for him good and unexceptionable men had been put aside. There were also honest fears that Mr. Blaine's foreign policy, as developed while he was Secretary of State in Mr. Garfield's cabinet, might, should he be made President, lead to dangerous foreign complications. Accordingly, a partially organized body of citizens, in New York and Boston, known as "Independent Republicans," professing much regard for moral considerations in politics, declined to respond to the nomination; and when, a little later, Governor Cleveland, of New York, was nominated by the Democratic party, these men with great unanimity became his supporters, being represented and sustained by some of the principal Republican papers of this city, both secular and religious. It seemed then that the Democratic candidate would be carried into the presidency upon a tidal wave, somewhat as two years before he had been made governor of the State.

Of the candidate himself very little was known. He was a young lawyer of Buffalo, who had been elected to the mayoralty of that city, and, it was said, had discharged the duties of his office with average fidelity, and had been nominated for the governorship by his party as a *new* man, and was carried into that office by an exceptionally large majority, because of a bitter factional feud in the other party. He was now brought forward for the presidency as an available candidate, rather than out of respect to any special personal fitness. It was tacitly assumed that his private character was of average acceptability; and that if he was not a great man, he would not be the first of that mental stature who had filled, if not graced, the high position for which he was named: and from such considerations not a few persons—of whom this writer was one—purposed to vote for him. So matters stood for a few weeks after the nomination, and then it began to be muttered that the Democratic candidate for the first office in the nation was a man of conspicuously and flagrantly corrupt private life and character, and the evidence elicited placed that fact beyond question. Even his own partisans conceded the alleged facts, which were of the worst kind and fearfully damaging. And now new conditions were presented, and corresponding processes brought into use in the contest. After ascertaining the truth of the alleged complaints, the religious papers which had indorsed him, we believe without exception, abandoned the support of the Democratic candidate; but not so the

"respectable" secular papers, which, on the contrary, seemed to redouble their zeal. Most of them persistently ignored the charges respecting Mr. Cleveland's personal manner of life, and their readers, had they had no other means of information, would not have been aware that any thing to his discredit had been at all credibly alleged against him. Some of them, however, came boldly to the rescue, and, conceding the facts, excused them as peccadilloes quite too insignificant to be taken seriously into account in a political canvass. And, strangest of all, the same ground was taken by two or three distinguished clergymen, among them a bishop and a well-known pulpit celebrity. As to the mental processes by which such a conclusion was reached we have no theory, but we indignantly repudiate the vile slander that, granting all that is alleged against Mr. Cleveland, he is probably no worse than the average of men. None but a thoroughly corrupt heart could have conceived any thing so vile. The issue was, therefore, openly and distinctly made and presented to the American people, whether or not the fact that a candidate for President of the United States was a confessed libertine—the associate of lewd women and the father of a spurious progeny—should be accounted a disqualification for that high place; and in answer an effective negative has been rendered by the men of this nation. We have, therefore, a President-elect whose character and career go to teach the young men of the country that private immorality is no bar to the highest public honors; and soon the White House at Washington, the Mecca of American "society," is to reproduce in these latter days the peculiar characteristics of some, not the least infamous, of the European courts of the last century. The warnings given in the earlier chapters of the Book of Proverbs must, in view of this verdict, be understood in a "Pickwickian" sense, and the solemn objurgation of the "Preacher," telling the young man who "walks in the ways of his heart and the sight of his eyes" that for these things there will be a reckoning, must now be set aside, at least for a life-time. or the reading changed to "For all these things men will bestow upon you the highest civic and social honors." The people of this country seem to have been given over to test by an experiment of their own choosing the truth of the divine sentence which declares that "The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest of the sons of men are exalted." Considerations of statesmanship, which seem to have been very little cared for during the course of the canvass, are now rendered comparatively insignificant in the presence of such a damaging onslaught upon the purity of private life. Should not now the Young Men's Christian Associations go into liquidation, since they cannot teach moral purity without implying a censure upon the elect of the nation, and those who elected him?

The charges made against Mr. Blaine's private life, and in respect to his domestic relations, were evidently retaliatory and vindictive, and so they were very soon lost sight of. But not so in respect to certain speculative transactions in which he, as a public functionary, was accused, not without a show of probability of having used his official position, with the advantages that it afforded him, for his own emolument. It has not, indeed,

been shown that he had dealt dishonestly or directly betrayed any interest public or private, or, indeed, done any thing that would not have been right and proper in a private citizen; but very many have deeply regretted that one charged with so high a public trust should have been found mingling in the doings of speculative traders and brokers; and with an unexceptionable alternative candidate they were inclined to refuse to aid in placing him at the head of the national government. The very large vote given to Mr. Blaine in all the Northern States, the only ones in which free elections were held, should not be accepted as an approval of these transactions, so much as a protest against his opponent.

These things suggest some rather difficult questions respecting the code of personal ethics in public life. Members of the British Parliament receive no compensation, and are expected to abstain from all money-making enterprises in any way connected with the government. They must therefore be gentlemen of leisure and owners of considerable estates, and of course all but the rich are practically excluded. With us the case is quite otherwise. A seat in Congress is a paying position, and many a Congressman increases his income by serving the public. But his new position largely increases his necessities, and at the same time presents opportunities for money-making of which all, except the most scrupulous, readily avail themselves. Some, indeed, live within their salaries, or draw upon their private resources, and often retire to private life poorer in property than they were when they entered it, while others begin poor and become rich by practices that have not heretofore been reckoned dishonorable. And yet there can be no doubt that such practices are demoralizing, and not unfrequently the occasion of corruption in office, and of sharp practices in business. The evil of this state of things is sufficiently manifest, but the remedy is not easily found. Probably Mr. Blaine was among the less unscrupulous half of the money-making members of Congress. He was no doubt sharp at a bargain, but fair in his dealings according to the code of morals of those among whom he was acting. And yet it is to be wished that the practices with which he has been charged, and in respect to which his friends have sought to defend his conduct, were not so common as they are known to be among those holding public offices.

But there is comfort in the assurance that the standard of morals that suffices for candidates for public honors is not that which is demanded by the great mass of the people in their domestic and social relations. It is no doubt true, though greatly to be lamented, that many a husband and father gives his vote for the political advancement of men who would not be desired in their parlors, or allowed to associate with the young people of their families. Possibly, too, the American people have not now for the first time chosen a libertine to the Presidency, though we are not persuaded that they have done so; but happily heretofore no one has been so chosen with the brand of the leper upon his forehead.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN PARIS. — The famous *Kulturkampf* that has raged in France as well as in Germany, although directed originally and mainly against the Catholic Church, has also struck the Protestants of France in a very sensitive manner. Many of them that hailed the new school law with joy, as the approach of a better era, because it relieved them from the clerical pressure that weighed them down in so many regions, find that they are still subjected to quite as much injustice as formerly. The government subsidies for salaries and house-rent have, through the entire land, been either cut off or greatly reduced, and thus the Protestant clergy, with their families, suffer a great deal more than the celibate priests.

Among the Protestants of Paris the Lutherans seem to have suffered most severely. The Reformed Churches have found a few wealthy friends among their adherents, but the German congregations are largely composed of poor immigrants who left Alsace when it was taken by the Germans, and the separation from their mother Church thus leaves them without much external aid or sympathy. And although the Lutherans, the same as the other Protestants of France, were very loyal to their country during the Franco-German war, it is impossible for the French to forget that these people are at least of German origin, which fact works greatly to their disadvantage. After the war the Lutherans succeeded in reinstating their theological faculty in Paris, but the promises made to them have been much weakened by the general war against the Churches. At the present time all the preachers are suffering from a great reduction of sustentation, while some of their schools have been either closed or transformed into municipal schools, in which the teaching of the Lutheran confession is not allowed. They have also been treated very parsimoniously by the city authorities as well as by the Legislative Assembly. A source of income from funerals in their community, amounting to 30,000 francs per year, has been taken from them and turned over to the city. It is true that these blows were intended mainly for the Catholic Church, but their greatest severity is felt by the Protestant minorities in the country. It would surprise no one if the State were soon to cut off all assistance, which would, perhaps, do less harm than the present condition of things, by awakening in the breast of the sufferers a spirit of independence.

PHILO-SEMITIC AND ANTI-SEMITIC.—The European world is still agitated with philo-Semitic and anti-Semitic demonstrations in the foreign press. A Belgian sheet, entitled the "Sunday Journal," lately presented a series of articles in favor of the Jews; and a literary celebrity in St. Petersburg recently published several letters on the same side. But it must be acknowledged that the championings of the Jews, in the press or on the platform, are mainly confined to themselves, and thus little is known of their efforts at self-defense outside of their own ranks.

On the other hand, the anti-Jewish movement is active every-where. One publication recently issued in Berlin is endeavoring to abolish the influence

of the Talmud from Judaism. A theological debater from Vienna has just been delivering lectures in Berlin on the Jewish question in Germany and Austria. Prof. Oort, of Leiden, treats very learnedly of the question of what is called the "blood-guilt" of the Jews, the suspicion of which has been brought down from the Middle Ages. Another practical question, namely, the overcrowding of the higher schools by the Jews, has been met at the University of Kieff by the resolution to admit only ten per cent. of Jews among the students. The endeavor in southern Russia to induce the Jews to go into agriculture has resulted in a complete failure. Of nearly five thousand Jewish landholders of thirty years ago, only about sixty now live on their possessions. A very significant series of articles lately appeared in the principal politico-economic journal of Germany, entitled "Judaism in the State;" these now appear in pamphlet form. In this the Jews are shown, in the words of their own leaders, to be a peculiar race and people within the State, and to be in a condition of perpetual antagonism to the rest of the population. On the whole, the conviction seems to be gaining ground that not much progress would be made in the way of modern emancipation with the Jews. Especially is this so, since the great mass of that people of to-day are zealously engaged in endeavoring to widen the chasm rather than to bridge it over.

THE OLD CATHOLICS IN CONGRESS.—The Old Catholics are again recovering courage, and have recently held a Congress in Germany. For the past few years they have been very much troubled by dissentings within their ranks, but they seem to have succeeded in separating the chaff from the wheat, and the latter is now making a valiant effort to germinate anew. In this Congress nearly forty districts were represented. The well-known jurist, Von Schulte, again presided. Congratulations were received from five American bishops, from one Irish bishop, and from numerous other religious celebrities. Among their proceedings we still find determined opposition to papal absolutism on the one hand, and to affiliation with any political party on the other. They are more than ever determined to oppose the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, and by a resolution expressed the hope that the period is not very far distant when on German soil a General Council, in the Old Catholic spirit of genuine reform in the Church, may convene.

A commission was appointed to recommend or prepare a series of writings for the young, illustrating Old Catholic truths. The Congress was honored by the presence of quite a number of foreign guests. Some of these, from Holland, the United States, and Ireland, delivered addresses. Among these was Von Santen, from Holland, who brought the greetings of the Archbishop of Utrecht, and further we note the greetings of Savarese and Campello, from Rome; Bishop Herzog, from Berne; professors from Munich, Halle, and Manheim, from Breslau, Oxford, Edinburgh, and Winchester. A public meeting was attended by three thousand hearers, and a banquet was enjoyed by about one hundred and forty delegates and friends. At this latter the Emperor of Germany was enthusi-

astically cheered. The Congress was certainly a grand success, and has done much to revive sympathy for Old Catholicism.

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM—"The Church Under the Cross" is a beautiful historical study by Pasteur Benoit. The expression "under the Cross" alludes to the sufferings of the French Protestants of the eighteenth century in the south of France, who were ever martyrs. The author is reliable in his information, judicious in his choice of facts, skillful in their presentation, and grave and sober in style; his story seems a poetic picture of the great past. He begins with the first years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and displays churches falling under the pick and pastors quitting the kingdom, and ends with churches reconstructed, consistories or official bodies either recognized or created by decree; and also presents to us Jean Béranger, the "Pastor of the Wilderness," appointed president, and, trembling with emotion, as he receives the solemn investiture of his charge in presence of a justice of the peace and a mayor. This book of Benoit helps one to comprehend how the Church passed from opprobrium to honor; and one sees throughout its pages that marvelous diversity of fate and that contrast of situations which gives to the description a strangely romantic interest.

Maspéro, the French director of the famous museum of Bulak, is again sending home valuable communications in regard to new "finds" in the sepulchers. He recently discovered a city of the dead of great extent and wealth near the ancient Panapolis. He found more than a hundred vaults, and investigated five of them very closely. In these he found 120 mummies, and from this sum infers that the total number of those in this resting-place of the dead must amount to about 6,000. He is preparing to make a more thorough investigation of these tombs with reference to inscriptions and manuscripts, hoping to find literary memorials from the Greek period of Egypt, because this city of Panapolis was, after the period of the Persian rule, the principal seat and favorite retreat of the Greeks. Fragments of the Greek poets, from Anacreon, Sappho, Pindar, and others, have already been discovered in like mortuary chambers. Maspéro has also made some new "finds" not far from Memphis, consisting of sarcophagi from the time of King Pepis I., which are covered with pictures and sacred inscriptions, and contain interesting works of art.

A recent review of the study of evangelical theology in Prussia during the last three years attests during that time a considerable increase of students of theology. Altogether in Prussian universities and other German schools there are 2,322 Prussians enrolled. Of these about 500 graduate yearly, a considerable number falling out by the way. For the Prussian Protestant churches about 400 new preachers are required yearly, thus leaving 100 for home and foreign missions. This increase in Prussian theological students is attributed to the fact that since the appeal of Prussian pastors to parents a few years ago, they have sent more of their children to the theological schools. There is also a sort of patriotic

revival among the Protestants of Prussia of interest in their home institutions; and the demand is now being made that all Prussian theological students shall spend at least three semesters in Prussian institutions. Of late years there has been quite a tendency in young Prussian theologues to go to other universities ; last year there were 206 of them at Leipsic, 92 at Erlangen, and 118 at Tübingen. This scattering of the young men over so broad a surface exposes them to a great divergence of religious views, and some of them return home to be more troublesome than useful in their innovations.

"The Manual of Theological Sciences," by Zöckler, has just reappeared in a second very carefully revised edition, with numerous additions. This is a compliment to its value, and a call on the learned author for more work of this kind, which he, better than most of the theological scholars of his nation, is well able to supply. His treatise on Israelitish history, archæology, and biblical theology is very rich. This new issue is much larger than the old edition, and the increase comes not from the author alone, but also from a large corps of collaborators of the first rank. Among these are Prof. Scheele, of Upsala, on symbolics; Kübel, on apologetics; Cremer, on dogmatics; and Zöckler himself on *special* dogmatics. The entire work promises to be a very valuable guide and hand-book for the clergy, as well as for candidates and students. The theological world is now awaiting with much interest the appearance of another volume, to be devoted largely to the methods of biblical criticism.

The secular schools of France have made very great progress within the last few years, which may be graded by the financial appropriations made to them. They began in 1877 with 12,000,000 francs annually, and now receive over 70,000,000, which the leaders of the movement still declare to be too small. Paul Bert makes it his special business to keep a very critical eye on these institutions. He has just published statistics of the schools for the last year, in which he announces that there are still engaged in teaching about 38 per cent. of the Christian Brothers, and 45 per cent. of the Sisters, having no other diploma than a simple letter of obedience from superiors. Furthermore, he says that in spite of the laws of 1879, which direct every French department to have a normal school for both sexes, there are at the present time 36 departments that seem to have made no haste in complying with this law. There are at present over 1,200 teachers employed in the public schools belonging to the so-called "Congregations," who have no teaching diploma. According to the figures given by Bert, one third of the French school-children are still instructed by teachers of this class, who teach them to be hostile to "radical progress and democratic liberty." But Bert is glad to announce that in the public schools the system of laicization is being energetically introduced by means of the text-books. He is so unfortunate and unwise as to make the following developments. The grammar is no longer to contain the name of God, Jesus, prayer, or the Creator. A recent grammar

for children was thus corrected: In place of "God is the Creator of the world," there now stands, "Europe is a portion of the world." "Cain killed his brother Abel," now reads, "Italy has the form of a boot," etc.

The *Central Annual for Germany* contains a somewhat remarkable article on Symbolics by the late Professor Philippi, for some years professor in Röstock. While living he enjoyed in large religious circles the not-undeserved reputation of being the sole genuine orthodox Lutheran. It is this circumstance, perhaps, that has induced the publication of a synopsis of his academic lectures; for it would be difficult to find any other valid reason for such a publication, as theological science has nothing to gain by this addition to its library.

The stand-point of the author is expressed with the greatest clearness. He says: "The Lutheran Church is no ecclesiastical party or sect, but the purified, regenerated, original Catholic Church — that is, the true Church. It is such, not merely as the invisible but as the visible Church, because its Confession is drawn purely from the word of God, and it rejoices in the purest administration of the sacraments. All other Churches have, therefore, only in so far a share of the truth as they harmonize with its Confession." This assumed harmony between the doctrine of the Scripture and that of this Church presumes that the various Confessions are not a peculiar comprehension of the one Christian truth, but are simply different degrees of truth and error, according to their harmony with or digression from the genuine Lutheran platform. But the presentation of the doctrine is merely surface work, accompanied by no sufficient proofs and based on no principial foundation.

There are also clearly many groundless assumptions in these pages. The author's position in regard to Calvin certainly indicates that he was not fairly understood. The assumption that, according to Catholic doctrine, the Holy Ghost still gives to the Church new revelations, contains more hardihood than courage, and the entire publication seems to be more a series of academic notes to guide the lecturer in his choice and array of subjects than a well-digested defense of his creed. The publication of these has done the author no credit, and it has injured the orthodox Lutheran Church in the eyes of other German Christians and those of the world at large. Such orthodoxy in the leading Protestant Church of Germany has been productive of much harm to liberal and progressive Christianity, because it has appeared to the eyes of zealous and generous Christians as but one step removed from the ultramontane Catholic Church; and the majority of German Christians believe that the spirit of the nineteenth century has as much to fear from the one as from the other.

The same publication contains an article by Koffmane on "Luther and Home Missions"—Jubilee production handed in after the festival. The article is written with a very extensive knowledge of the subject. It makes us at first acquainted with the various phases of benevolent activity before the Reformation, and shows us the necessity and the wants clinging to this work of love.

"Pessimism and the Social Question," the leading article of the September number of the *Revue Cretienne* ("Christian Review"), by Chastand, is peculiarly French in its character, and quite acceptable at the present epoch, when the French are inclined to deduce the socialistic troubles of the Germans from their pessimistic philosophy. The French never have taken kindly to the German philosophers, and have allowed the teachings of Leibnitz and Hegel, Kant and Fichte, to pass by with little attention. Their own taste has always been toward an eclectic philosophy that would permit them to choose and adopt what would meet their comprehension and suit their own tastes, and let all else pass by as but mere chaff. But Schopenhauer, the real founder of pessimistic philosophy, has at least seemed clear and comprehensible to them, and, therefore, received more attention. In the writings of the two philosophers, Schopenhauer the founder, and Hartmann the preserver and propagator of this philosophy, there is an absence of abstract propositions, metaphysical arguments, and scholastic phrases, which makes them more acceptable to French thinkers, who much prefer the curt, perspicuous, and precise phrases, though often paradoxical. They seem to have taken to the letter these words of one of their own *savants*, namely, "Philosophical demonstrations which cannot be comprehended by all learned men are not worth the ink with which they have been printed."

The editor of the [Christian] Review (M. Pressensé), in his *résumé*, extends a hearty welcome to Père Hyacinthe on his return to Paris from his recent visit to this country. He acknowledges that the brilliant orator is always admirable, full of fire and imagination, frequently carrying away his audience by the rapid movement of his superb eloquence. But the writer hits the mark accurately when, while acknowledging him to be always the convincing Christian, he says that he unfortunately also always stops too soon in his opposition to the main principles of Catholicism. This has been the trouble with Père Hyacinthe from his first rupture with the Catholic Church, and has been mainly the cause of his failure in his Christian work. He has now handed in his resignation as vicar of his Gallican church, and proposes to himself in the future a more apostolic and evangelistic mission. He is eminently able, if he can strike the right chord, to render signal service to the Gospel work in France to the democracy of that country, which rejects the living Gospel largely because of ignorance of its character, which leads the masses to confound the God of Jesus Christ with an ultramontane idol. Hyacinthe has just found an able colleague in the Italian Abbe Rocca, who lately seceded from the Catholic Church and has published a very interesting book bearing the title, "Christ, the Pope, and Democracy." The writer, who certainly, from long experience, knows whereof he affirms, is boiling over with a vehement indignation against ultramontanism, which he denounces with righteous wrath, as the principal producer of the impiety of the period, which it has nursed into life by violently separating Christianity from democracy and progress.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CHAUTAUQUA IDEA.—It needs a large crucible in which to assay the Chautauqua Idea. Its proportions, together with its multiple powers of reflection and refraction, have led admirers to esteem it almost as the Kohinoor of educational plans. Experts have come to variant conclusions as to its intrinsic value, but the popular estimate is undoubtedly high.

One difficulty in the way of any fair measurement of its advantages or shortcomings lies in the incomplete and tentative character of all its details. It is as impossible now to predict the future of Chautauqua as it was in its beginning to foresee it as it now is. Such rapidity of growth naturally breeds the thought of shallowness rather than of depth or strength; but if its vast work is to be unworthy or superficial, that is yet to appear. Because only a man may be superficial—not a youth. The superficiality of the scholar appears when he gets to work in the world. The conditions of Chautauqua at present are certainly not the conditions which ordinarily result in superficial scholarship. Some of these are, reluctant attention to a prescribed course of study in deference to the will of others rather than as the choice of the student; the *ignis fatuus* charm of graduation from an institution of renown—a charm that culminates and loses its power on commencement day; the thirst for a professional life only, the entrance to which the novice thinks to be the college door, front or back. And to these may be added, as one of the most plentiful sources of superficiality, the traditional social and otherwise congenial attractions of an under-graduate course, entirely outside the curriculum. But, without ancient prestige, Chautauqua fills its halls and groves with non-professional students, alive with enthusiasm, and gathering of their own choice. The lake-side, semi-summer-resort character of Chautauqua is, doubtless, an attraction to some not otherwise partial to literary culture; but it does not fairly offset the worthless society attractions of college, which draw together what Carlyle used to call the "unserious dilettanti," because the *place*—habitable, healthful, accessible, picturesque—is but a mere fragment of Chautauqua, the chief feature of which is a great host scattered all over the continent, who, never having listened to the chimes, nor seen the hall or auditorium, yet having seemed to see a great light, read their books and master them, in voluntary classes or in solitude. It is well to remember, too, that even if the charge were proved, superficiality in scholarship is not to be condemned except where it is the deceptive substitute for profundity. A shallow rivulet is better than a summer-dried water-course. "A little learning," "dangerous" as it may be, is infinitely better than none. And the privileges of Chautauqua are not offered in the stead of a collegiate curriculum, but of the intellectual emptiness of an average farm or factory.

In its methods Chautauqua commands the best, and its resources have thus far seemed equal to all emergencies. Its instructors are in the faculties of all colleges, and have sounded the depths in their special depart-

ments. It exhausts its topics with brilliant analysis and illustration. Professor Doremus passes street-gas under ordinary pressure clear through a cubic foot of good sandstone six times coated with shellac, and with a match lights it as it comes through on the other side, and all to show the absurdity of a saucerful of chloride of lime as a disinfectant of volatile poisons and contagious disease. The microscopist places a fine cambric needle before the lens, and the figure thrown upon the canvas measures five inches across the point which just pricked your finger. This sort of thing is exhaustive, and at exhaustiveness Chautauqua aims.

Religiously, Chautauqua is a curious phenomenon. Starting from thoroughly Methodist sources, it speedily announced itself undenominational. A close observation of its laws, methods, and general plan will reveal a strain of Puritanism and a touch of Ritualism, as well as the birthright fervor of Methodism. And already enthusiastic Chautauquans make the bold claim that in the building of the great frame-work of the Chautauqua Idea the hands of the mighty of all time have had something to do—Socrates and Cromwell, Paul and Loyola, Fröbel and Carlyle and Wesley. Of course the narrow-minded will tend to the recognition only of the stones dug from their own quarry, and the exceedingly narrow will fall into the mistake that the ultimate result will be an absorption of all things into their own limited order. But this does not alter facts. On a Saturday evening a little group just arrived at Chautauqua ascended the hill leading from the landing to the hotel. The foot-path led before a whitened statue of Mercury, poised and wing-footed, but shadowed from the full moonlight by the foliage of the over-arching trees. In passing it one of the company was overheard to say, "I suppose that is a statue of John Wesley." Equally puerile and ridiculous was the inference drawn a short time since in the columns of "The Churchman," of New York city, that the religious features of Chautauqua were becoming largely liturgical and ritualistic, and that its president had strong "Churchly" tendencies, because in the public service of the auditorium some well-chosen sentences from the Book of Common Prayer were employed.

The Chautauqua University is the natural outgrowth of the "Literary and Scientific Circle," multitudes being led by the studies of the Circle to feel deeper wants and to indulge higher aspirations. Having a share of the world's work already on their hands, they were debarred from ordinary college privileges. Arrangements were accordingly made for a thorough University Course—the lessons to be conducted by correspondence, and each pupil to come into close relations to each professor.

There are now 60,000 students enrolled as members of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, of whom 20,000 belong to the class most recently organized, who will finish their course in 1888. These reside in all parts of the world—every State and Territory in the Union, every province of Canada, and every continent, having its representative. The population of the Grove rises to at least 30,000 in the height of the Assembly season.

ROMANIST "FREE SCHOOLS" IN THE UNITED STATES.—It is a pregnant and ominous fact that one of the two chief religious denominations of the United States is avowedly arraigned in bitter hostility to that system of primary education which all the other religious bodies, and indeed the bulk of American citizens, have been accustomed to regard as one of the bulwarks of our civilization and our liberties. The controversies which have perennially sprung up all along the path of progress of the "Common School"—ever since its earliest development in this country—are as eagerly pressed now as at any former time. It is always of interest to the fair-minded thinker to obtain a clear view of his subject from a stand-point at the farthest possible remove from his own. This consideration gives a peculiar interest, in the eyes of a Protestant, to a recently published review of "Catholic Free Schools in the United States—their Necessity, Condition, and Future," from the scholarly pen of John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., which has recently appeared in the "American Catholic Quarterly Review." The author sketches the history of elementary schools during the first fifty years of our national history, and shows how in the beginning "religion was the underlying element of all education." The Protestant patronage of "godless" schools he traces to the rebellion of the "active minds of New England" against the despotism of the old-time Congregationalism. The denominations gradually took less interest in their schools, and at last relied almost exclusively on State aid. State schools then took the place of denominational schools; and according to Dr. Shea the old religious element would have entirely died out had not the Bible been, almost accidentally, taken as a school-book. "The lack of 'readers' made it convenient to employ as a reading book a volume to be found in almost every house." About forty years ago Dr. Shea thinks a golden opportunity was lost by the advocates of religious training. A clear, logical statesman might then have built a plan by which every citizen could obtain for his children the highest possible education, with such religious training as he preferred. "But a wretched compromise was effected, and this is the system which has gained in several States, and is talked of as national." The early Roman Catholic Councils earnestly but fruitlessly exhorted the bishops and clergy to establish schools "in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morals while they are instructed in letters." About 1852 Archbishop Hughes gave a new impulse to Roman Catholic education by both earnest words and diligent example. "Parochial schools" were established in all directions. Soon "approved" school-books were prepared; and during the last thirty years the progress of these parochial schools has been truly wonderful—all the more wonderful because they have been supported almost exclusively by the "constant small contributions of the many." It is a suggestive fact, freely admitted by Dr. Shea, that in not a single case has a Roman Catholic school been founded or endowed by an individual. "Ireland," says he, "is dotted with the ruins of convents and monasteries, most of which were founded and endowed by individuals in the Ages of Faith. Spain, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, show similar foundations; it is a reproach to the Catholics

of the United States that their body has produced so few men actuated by large and charitable impulses that spring from faith." Yet, though the parochial schools were thus dependent for their creation and maintenance on the liberality of the poor under the direction of the priests, their number had risen in 1875 to 1,444; in 1876, to 1,645; in 1879, to 1,958; and in 1880, to 2,246, with 405,234 pupils. At the commencement of the year 1884, the Catholic body in the United States, according to the statistics furnished by the several dioceses, "taxed as they were to maintain State schools, which they could not conscientiously use for the education of their children," maintained 2,532 parochial schools, in which 481,834 children were educated. The "Catholic Almanac" of 1834 records but three parochial schools; that of 1884, 2,532, and nearly half a million of pupils. The total average attendance at the public schools in 1880 was 5,805,342 in a total population of fifty millions, a little over ten per cent.; while the Catholic community of eight millions had in its own free schools half a million, or nearly seven per cent. "A few years," predicts the essayist, "will make the Catholic rate exceed that of the State school."

The Elevation of the American Indian.—It is a cause for profound thankfulness that our political philosophers have ceased to urge the extermination of the Indians. The "military policy" has fewer advocates than formerly; and even the annual report of the General of our army has less than usual to say concerning the methodical slaughter of the aboriginal tribes. A pessimist might readily find reason for this apparent change of public sentiment in the unquestioned tendency of the redskins toward extinction. But it is better to seek its source in those humane agencies, which, beginning with the "peace policy" of President Grant, have ever since, with multiform philanthropy, helped to lift the Indians toward civilization. It is noteworthy that at a meeting of the National Teachers' Association recently held in Madison, Wis., one of the most able discussions was upon the best system for the education of Indian youth. General S. C. Armstrong, the Principal of the Normal Industrial School at Hampton, Va.—an authority in these matters—spoke most hopefully of the aggregated results of the efforts made during the last five or six years to elevate and Christianize the Indian youth. From three to five thousand of the thirty thousand Indian youth of school age are now trained industrially amid civilizing surroundings; a knowledge of the mechanic arts, elevated social customs, and a mastery of the English language are imparted to them by experienced teachers, and they are thoroughly drilled to become teachers themselves. The results, thus far, are full of hope. Enough time has elapsed to indicate the tendency of Indian children at their homes after a practical training in the midst of civilization, in which over one half of the instruction given each year is, for the young men, in trades and in farming; for the girls, in housework, cooking, and making garments. The General pleads for "a well-conducted training of the hands, head, and heart for a period of about five

years, sending pupils back to their old homes for a visit of from three to twelve months at the end of the third year."

The results of three years' work have not been disappointing. Of seventy-one sent back from Hampton since 1881, but seven have been reported as "gone back to the blanket," which means giving up citizen's dress for a woolen "toga," putting on paint, going to dances, and letting the hair grow long. Not one of them has become a horse-thief or a renegade. Of the rest, about one half are more or less weak and fickle, needing the agent's care and the influence of the missionary to keep them to steady habits or to lead them back from temporary relapses. The other half are comparatively steady, industrious, and thrifty; good examples to their people, whose feeling about the education of their children has changed remarkably in the past few years.

General Armstrong spent some time in an endeavor to prove what needs no demonstration—that the American Indians should have the best of men to guide them and the largest chances to improve. With the tremendous wave of progress across the continent resulting from four lines of railroad—the irresistible grasp by the whites of mining, farm, and grazing lands—the necessity of securing lands in severalty in order to have any thing left of the extensive, but doomed, domain they now occupy—the only stand they can make against the forces about them being to become citizens and voters—there is no chance of the Indians of our country but in sufficient and practical education in labor schools, and in an able, energetic, local management through competent agents, who shall be sustained in every effort to advance their people, keep whisky away, and establish them on lands of their own.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Coast and Interior Missions of Africa. — Africa is attracting more and more the attention of statesmen, missionaries, explorers, and mercantile adventurers. From the East Coast great missionary and trading enterprises have pushed into the heart of the continent, and formed their settlements and stations on the shores of the great lakes. Beginning with the Church Missionary Society on the Victoria Nyanza, in King Mtesa's kingdom, where, within a year, surprising progress has been made in education and in conversions, we go a comparatively short distance south, partly by roads made by the missionaries, passing several missionary stations, until we come to the field of operations of the London Society on Lake Tanganyika, and between the lake and the coast, among an intelligent but warlike people. From this long and narrow lake a short journey southward brings us to Lake Nyassa, lying much nearer to the coast, and easier of access than the other lakes. On the southern shore of this body of water the Scottish Free Church, which had prepared valuable native assistants for this formidable undertaking (regarded formidable ten years ago) at its famous Lovedale Institution in South Africa, has established itself. The

Free Church Society is endeavoring to form a chain of stations around the lake, and to establish free, intelligent, and Christian communities, in which purpose it has the earnest co-operation of the mission of the Kirk of Scotland, situated at Blantyre, on the Shiré River, near the southern shore of the lake.

These lake missions, which have cost much in treasure as well as some valuable lives (particularly to the London Missionary Society), might not have been established if their founders had foreseen all the difficulties and discouragements they have encountered; but they have probably passed their hardest days, and are now entering upon more productive stages. The missionaries, indeed, find much to encourage them. Heathenism, corrupted by its contact with civilization along the coast, has less of hope in it than heathenism in the gross forms in which it is found in the interior of the continent. The Arab slave-catchers have, it is true, been long among the interior tribes, but only for trade. They had not propagated Mohammedanism on the Nyanza when the missionaries settled in Uganda. It did not seem to occur to them to do so until after the standard of Christianity had been raised. Whatever may be true of other portions of Africa, a broad belt in the interior, extending from the Equator south to Lake Ngami, is chiefly dominated by the native religions. Mtesa, after a thorough test, found more to his satisfaction in the *lubari* of the lake than in the religion of the desert. The missionaries find that the youth are, for the most part, very quick and intelligent. Those in Uganda learn to read with amazing facility, and quickly comprehend the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Nothing more encouraging from any point has come to our knowledge than the conversions reported among the Buganda.

Besides these lake missions, the Church Missionary Society has had for many years a station at Mombasa, in the mountainous region near the coast and below the Equator, and the Universities Mission, which used to be attached to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has a mission between the coast and Lake Tanganyika. Both of these are centers for freed slaves, and are flourishing enterprises. The American Board, advancing north from its old field in Zululand, has sought to establish a station in Umzila's kingdom, thus making a line of stations from Algoa Bay to Juba at the Equator. But this mission is as yet little more than a project. The southern part of the continent, from the Limpopo River on the East Coast round to the Orange River on the West Coast, and from Cape Town north to the Kalahari Desert—a territory embracing a great variety of tribes, from the dull Bushman to the bright and interesting Bechuanas—is more fully occupied than any other. If the native Christians of all names could be gathered into one South African Church, they would make a large and influential body of Christians. Here British, German, and French societies, as well as the American Board, have long been at work, and the French society is pushing north to the southern branch of the Zambesi and the Chobe, half way between the two coasts.

The Western Coast has claimed most attention for a year or two. Stanley's exploration of the Congo, and the attempt of the African Interna-

tional Association to open the great Congo basin to the trade of the world, have excited the interest of Europe and given rise to great mission enterprises. Portugal, which had almost forgotten the existence of its West Coast colonies, has roused itself to assert and maintain its rights. France wants to add to its territory. Germany is anxious to acquire possessions; and even Spain has had a revival of its old colonial spirit. On the 15th of November an International Conference met in Berlin to consider whether it is desirable to partition that part of West Africa still unappropriated, and whether the Congo shall be free to the world. France has the first territory of value south of the Great Desert in Senegambia, but its influence extends almost to Sierra Leone. At the mouth of the Gambia British territory begins, but it is only a small colony. South of this is the native kingdom of Combo, which has only about twenty miles of coast line, the French possession of Cazamanca lying next. Portugal has a little patch on the south bank of the Cazamanca, and, with some insignificant exceptions, its dominion extends along the coast to the Bissagos Islands. Sierra Leone, Sherbro Island, and Turner's Peninsula belong, of course, to Great Britain. Thus from the Senegal to the Republic of Liberia the coast is a sort of patch-work, the flags of Great Britain, Portugal, and France alternating, the French holding, perhaps, the largest proportion. We need not stop to speak of Liberia and the Methodist mission work there. It is a long, interesting, but painful history of comparative failure. For the next two hundred miles below Liberia native chiefs hold sway. It is the country of the Kroos, the laborers and porters of the West Coast. Grand Bassa and Assinie, which were formerly French colonies and have recently been reoccupied, take us to the northern border of the British Gold Coast. Between Quettah and Great Popo Dr. Nachtigal has lately raised the German flag. Beyond Great Popo lies Dahomey; then Porto Novo, which is French; then Fort Ajuda, which is Portuguese, followed by one hundred and eighty miles of coast under British rule. Below the Benin Great Britain has recently been hoisting its colors, and aims to control the Niger, on which it has important interests, and the rest of the coast to its Lagos possessions. On the Cameroons coast the Germans have been doing something in the way of annexation. The next two hundred miles of coast belongs to the Banakas. Corisco Island is Spanish, south of which France has claims. This is a very interesting piece of territory, as to which a writer in the London "Times" says:

> No one disputes that the French have legitimate possession of the long strip of coast from Corisco Bay to beyond the mouth of the Pembo, a distance of quite three hundred miles, and including the mouth of the Ogové and the fine Bay of Gaboon. Under the auspices of De Brazza and other explorers, the French have been not only opening up the interior and tracing out river trade-routes, but been among great stretches of territory as they went. How far their power extends in the interior it would be difficult to say, but by a sweep up the Ogové and down the Alima, they have at least a line of territory ending at Stanley Pool, on the Congo. Between the French territory and the mouth of the Congo, some three hundred and fifty miles, the coast at present is chiefly occupied by petty native kingdoms, which will doubtless soon be absorbed, probably by France. Along this coast there are several small settlements belonging to various Powers; at

Setti Camma are some British factories; at the mouth of the Kevilu are both Dutch and English factories; at Punta Negra is the station recently occupied by the French; at Chinchoxo is a Dutch factory, and just south of the last-named is Landana, which, with the adjoining territory, was placed under Portuguese authority by treaty with the native chiefs in December last. The International Association have established stations at the mouth of the Ruillu that are connected by a regular series with the Upper Congo, while the French have a station at the mouth of the Congo on its northern shore. Up the Congo estuary are factories of various nations, while at Vivi the domain of the International Association begins. But at present the Congo mouth and the coast on each side is debatable if not neutral territory. This is certainly the great prize of all the coast, and no one nation will be allowed to possess it without much protest from the others. Better, as we have before advocated, that it should remain really neutral, and that under the auspices of the Association trade should in the meantime be free and unrestricted. It is doubtful, however, if all the four nations interested will be likely to restrain themselves; in the general scramble that has begun we may hear any day of the annexation by some one power of all the Congo coast.

South of the Congo for one hundred and thirty miles the natives are in possession; then comes the Portuguese territory stretching along the coast for seven hundred miles or more. Below this Germany is seeking to obtain the coast as far south as the Orange River.

The West Coast, then, from the Senegal to the Orange is already chiefly in the possession of four European nations, whose desire is for the most part to develop their colonies and stimulate trade. From Vivi, on the Congo, far into the interior, the International Association wishes to be in control for the purpose of making the river free and of developing a civilized government for the numerous tribes occupying the Congo Valley. The future of missionary enterprise in Western and Central Africa will depend in no small degree on the political arrangements soon to be made.

The most noteworthy of the new mission enterprises are those on the Congo. The English Baptist Society, establishing its first station at San Salvador, followed a route to the river and established a line of stations to Stanley Pool, beginning with Underhill, immediately to the north of San Salvador. There are in all four stations on the river below Stanley Pool, all on the south bank. A small steam-ship called the "Peace" has been transported in sections to the Pool, and there put together and launched for service on the Upper Congo, where there is a stretch of perhaps a thousand miles which the little boat can navigate. The first station above the Pool is Tukolela. The society has determined to send no fewer than twenty men to preach and teach on the Upper Congo, which presents, perhaps, the most magnificent opportunity in Africa for great efforts and achievements. The other mission on the Congo was begun by a society known as the Livingstone Inland Mission, which was organized at Cardiff, Wales, and which was chiefly supported by Plymouth Brethren. Mr. and Mrs. H. Grattan Guinness were its inspiration. The society sent out its first missionaries early in 1878. They established a station at Banana, at the mouth of the Congo, and soon had a line of stations on the north bank to Stanley Pool. Upward of a hundred thousand dollars were expended up to last spring, and twelve persons lost their lives in the work, which, of course, is still in its first stage, with no noteworthy results to report.

A steamer was ordered for the Upper Congo, and preparations were made to advance into the far interior when the society saw that more funds than it could command would be needed. For this reason all its interests on the Congo have been transferred to the American Baptist Missionary Union, whose wise management in India and Burmah, and whose ample resources, lead to the expectation that this Congo mission will be vigorously prosecuted.

Besides the English and American Baptists there is soon to be another missionary force on the Congo. Bishop William Taylor, as is well known, is forming a company of workers whom he expects to station on the noble river. His plan is to form a chain of twenty or more stations on a line south of and parallel to the Congo. He will need about forty missionaries, of whom twenty have been already enrolled. It is stated that he himself will enter Africa from the Atlantic coast with twenty missionaries, and Dr. Summers will enter Africa from the Indian Ocean with twenty more missionaries in May or June next. Both parties will advance toward the interior until they meet, thus completing the chain of mission stations across Africa from the mouth of the Congo on the Atlantic Ocean to the mouth of the Zambesi on the Indian Ocean. The only money the Bishop asks for is passage money to Africa, and the conditions he lays down are these:

1. That our friends in America, through our Transit Fund Society, may pay their passage outward. 2. That all our workers shall depend on God and the people they serve for daily bread. 3. That they shall receive their salary in full from our Father in heaven after their arrival in the "Heavenly Jerusalem."

Before passing from this great river and its great valley to speak of other mission enterprises a word ought to be said in acknowledgment of the service Leopold, the King of Belgium, has performed as head of the International Association in opening this territory to commerce and Christianity. He has expended of his own means no less than a million of dollars in the work of exploration, road-building, and station-planting. Mrs. Guinness, in an interview with him, ventured to ask him what had caused him to take such a profound interest in Africa. He replied, that when the Lord took away his only son, he felt at first as if he had nothing to live for, until God seemed to say to him, "Live for Africa." He added: "You know I am a Catholic; I love God and want to please him." In the middle of October the association sent out its fifth expedition, under Lieutenant Becker, who is to cross the continent from the east to the west, in order to connect the stations of the Upper Congo with those of the interior, and thus to render Karema as accessible from the West Coast of Africa as from Zanzibar. The work of the expedition is to be completed within two years.

Three or four hundred miles south of the Congo, in the Portuguese possessions, lies the town of Benguela, in the province of the same name. At this point two or three years ago the American Board sought to enter the interior, and to found a mission at Bihè, on high and healthy ground. The missionaries formed a station on the route, at Bailundu,

whose king, Kwikwi, received them kindly, and among whose people they seemed to have friends. A small party pushed on from Bailundu, after some months, to Bihé, and were settled comfortably there when they received intelligence that Kwikwi had ordered the force in Bailundu to quit his dominions at once. They accordingly joined their friends at Bailundu, and the whole party marched to the coast, accomplishing the journey in about twenty-three days. Kwikwi gave no reason for his sudden change of mind, for he had been very gracious to the missionaries; but they well understood that his mind had been poisoned against them by a Portuguese slave-dealer. Remonstrance and entreaty were alike in vain, and the missionaries were compelled to depart, leaving goods behind to be plundered by the greedy natives. Kwikwi upbraided them because they had not given him whisky, guns, and gunpowder. This promising mission is therefore temporarily broken up, and part of the missionaries are in this country.

OUR FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK.

The session of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for 1884, was held in New York, Nov. 5–13, at which the missionary operations of the Church, both foreign and domestic, were carefully reviewed, and plans for future action adopted. That "Committee" is, in fact, the great directing power of the Church in all its missionary matters, having its authority directly from the General Conference, and being empowered, among other things, to "determine what fields shall be occupied as foreign missions, the number of persons to be employed in said missions, and the amount [of money] necessary for the support of each mission." It is composed of the Bishops and thirteen Commissioners at large, appointed by the General Conference, and an equal number chosen by the Board of Managers from its own body, and the Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurers. The attendance was full, and the business in hand was diligently attended to and very thoroughly examined; and the work for the next year, as far as the means would allow, effectually provided for.

In these proceedings the whole scheme and scope of the denomination's foreign missionary work passed in review, and both what has been done and what it is proposed to do were very clearly stated and determined, and the feeling awakened seemed to be one of encouragement and gratitude in respect to the past, and of hopefulness for the future, except as to the pecuniary means needed for the effectual prosecution of the work. The gross income of the treasury for the current year was shown to have been $751,123, which was a slight falling off from that of the preceding year, though it appeared that the decline was entirely in the incidental resources (chiefly legacies), and that the contributions by the churches had advanced a few thousands. The aggregate amount appropriated to be used during the year now ensuing (including $67,721, for "liquidation

of debt") is $850,000, of which nearly $350,000 is for foreign work, distributed as follows :

Africa	$4,000	Italy	$28,373
South America	20,500	Mexico	34,782
China	69,803	Japan	34,936
Germany and Switzerland	24,600	Korea	8,100
Scandinavia	46,833		
India	67,171		$351,979
Bulgaria and Turkey	12,876		

No new mission field was projected, though Korea, which was provided for last year, has not yet been actually occupied, but it is said all the preliminary arrangements have been made, and the work will soon be entered upon with a good outlook. The selection and appointment of the missionaries is in all cases the work of the Bishops, and the details of the home administration are committed to the Corresponding Secretaries and the Board of Managers, the last a corporate body composed of the Bishops and sixty-four others named by the General Conference, one half each of ministers and laymen, which Board meets monthly at the Mission Rooms.

The foreign missions of the denomination have advanced steadily, but not rapidly, for more than half a century, until they have become many and world-wide, and some of them are of large proportions. Africa and South America—rather, Liberia and Buenos Ayres and vicinity—are of the longest standing, and neither of them has been even ordinarily successful, though the latter now promises better things.

In China a mission was begun in 1846–47, at Foochow, and since then three others have been founded, at Kiukiang (Central China), Peking, and, within a few years past, at Chung-king, in the extreme west, about 1,200 miles from the coast. After a long period of almost fruitless efforts the mission at Foochow began to be successful among the people, and it has since become aggressive; and by its action Methodism has become fairly seated and established as a naturalized form of religion in all the extensive and populous province of Fukien. Its laborers are chiefly natives, who are pecuniarily sustained for the greater part by the people and churches among whom they are working. Though they are less advanced, because they are newer, yet the same remarks will apply generally to the other missions in that empire.

The mission work in India, in the North-west Provinces, was undertaken a little more than thirty years ago ; and though it has had its reverses, it has been on the whole highly successful and prosperous, with the promise of steady, permanent, and almost indefinite increase. The work appears to be prosecuted in all its affairs with the purpose of raising up and establishing an indigenous Christian community, chiefly operated by native agencies, and sustained by their own resources. Its system of schools—extending from vernacular primaries scattered among the villages to high schools, one or two of which seem to be developing into complete colleges after the best American type, and a school for training preachers and other workers—is full of promise for the future of India;

and the agents of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, operating apart and yet in unison, are carrying the blessings of the Gospel to many of the females of the upper classes, who are entirely beyond the reach of the ordinary methods. This mission is evidently regarded with great favor by all who have looked into its affairs, and they seem to expect still greater things from it.

The missionary work in Japan is the wonder of the age, for in but little more than ten years that whole empire, so long almost hermetically closed against the outside world, has become thoroughly permeated with the teachings of Christianity, and seems to be rapidly hastening to take its place among the older nations of Christendom; and among the agents of this wonderful work, the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church seem to hold a not inconsiderable place. These three—the Chinese, the Indian, and the Japanese—are the only properly heathen missions of the Church, and they are those to which it may point with the highest satisfaction in respect to both actual achievements and assurances for the future. All of them appear to be advancing steadily, and with reasonable rapidity, toward the conditions of self-supporting and self-governing Christian bodies.

The missions in Bulgaria, Italy, Mexico, and South America are those in non-Protestant Christian countries. Of the last some account has been given, and of the first it may be said that it has been the hardest and least productive field that has been undertaken; but after being almost entirely wiped out during the Russo-Turkish war, some ten years ago, it has since been rehabilitated with improved prospects. The mission in Italy was begun in 1871, and has advanced somewhat successfully, in respect to converts and churches and a native ministry, but the reports indicate that in matters of self-relying independence these converts from Romanism have not proved very apt scholars; and till those things shall be learned the mission will be comparatively feeble and ineffective for good.

The work in Mexico is comparatively new. It was begun early in 1873, and has advanced fairly well, but it is yet too soon to speak of it as either a success or a failure, though enough has appeared to encourage the belief that it will succeed. Here, however, as in all Roman Catholic countries, the missionaries find their greatest difficulties in the false and often demoralizing conceptions of religion and morals into which the people have been educated in their ancestral Church.

The Church has its missions, also, in each of the Protestant countries of north-western Europe—Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Their presence there may seem to require an apology, which is found in the fact that in all these countries Methodism of the American type had been introduced and partially naturalized before the home Church was officially aware of the process. Emigrants from those lands to this country had been converted, and, going back again, they had told their kinsfolk and former acquaintances of what they had experienced, and so they kindled the Methodist fires and constituted its worship and discipline in their

several fatherlands. And soon, as was natural, the Macedonian cry for help came over the ocean, and, equally naturally, it was practically responded to. The mission in Germany dates from 1850, in which year a very small beginning was made at Bremerhaven; and the work has so prospered that it now extends over most of the empire, and also into the German cantons of Switzerland, with a membership of more than ten thousand and nearly a hundred ministers — all natives of the country. The success of the work, which it is claimed has exerted a most wholesome influence on the State Church, has seemed to justify all that has been done and expended, in both labor and money, though some are asking whether the same outlay among the heathen would not have been more profitable and more seemly. German Methodism has, indeed, become well grown; but it seems to be rather reluctant to stand and walk alone. The work among the Scandinavian nations had a like origin, and its success has been even more marked, and its outlook, as seen by its friends, is altogether radiant. But the work in all these countries, and in some of the other missions also, is becoming embarrassing by reason of the magnitude to which it has attained. The child has fairly outgrown its childhood; and what now must be done for it?

The history of this work is suggestive. It is a record of consecrated devotion on the part of the workers in the field of a good degree of liberality, and of directing wisdom on that of the Church at home, of sucess in giving the Gospel to those who were without its blessings, and in planting churches and other Christian institutions among the heathen. In respect to all these points the Church in its missionary administration has richly earned the confidence of its constituency, which ought to be responded to by largely increased pecuniary support. But the enlarged proportions of the work are beginning to call for broader views and more comprehensive methods than have hitherto been used. The Christianizing of a people must be effected not by strangers but by its own people, and the church institutions of each people must be its own, and not a portion or branch of a foreign and alien body. The time for their separation has evidently come to a considerable number of these missions, as a means to their own best development, and, as well, to leave the home Church free to enter some of the many open doors through which millions of heathens are calling for the word of life. The late General Conference seemed to feel the presence and the force of these things, but after a few tentative efforts, in which it failed to meet their demands, it left things much as they were. It may be hoped that when another shall assemble the subject will have been so prepared to its hands that the needed adjustments may be consummated.

THE MAGAZINES.

In America the Magazine has reached a development not attained in any other land. Here it combines the literary review, the art journal, the political and social essay, the biographical and geographical record, the scientific chronicle and the lecture platform, the serial novel, and the school of decorative art. It is impossible to compare the foreign and domestic magazines without seeing that our own surpass, in popular merit and attractiveness, those of any other country. Magazine work abroad is far more specialized than here. The student is better served in Europe; the people are vastly better served in the United States.

At the head stands "Harper's," with the "Century" not far behind. The rivalry between these leaders has produced a richness and variety of illustration which remains a monthly wonder. The ablest writers in the country seek opportunities to reach the public through the Magazine. Publications of the "Review" type have had to stir themselves, to submit to modifications of plan and frequency of publication in order to keep their place. Meanwhile, the people are able to secure, for a very small sum, artistic illustration and interesting and valuable matter in such quantity that the Magazine has become one of the chief educational forces of the country.

The October "Harper's" is an unusually fine number. Its range is something wonderful: Scandinavia, England, Mexico, Holland, California, New York, Kentucky, were ransacked for illustration and matter. Treadwell Walden's paper on the "Great Hall of William Rufus" is a fine example of the charm which may be given to a familiar subject by a sympathetic and skilled writer. Windsor Castle could not supply from its strange history more romantic incident or charming pictures. There is the delight of novelty in the reproduction of the old and little-known portraits of England's kings, nobles, and commoners. And how pleasant to compare the Westminster of 1647 with the Westminster of 1884 by the help of Hollar's quaint plan and map. Hans Christian Andersen is less known to the children of to-day than to those of thirty years ago. But many a heart now worn with burden-bearing will be cheered by the portrait of that rare genius who made the days bright with the fun and pathos of the "Ugly Duck." Not even De Amicis has surpassed our countryman, George H. Boughton, in describing Holland. Boughton shows as much skill with his pen as with his pencil. He has caught with marvelous ability all that is characteristic in the landscape, the occupations, and the people of the Low Countries. Many of his figures are exquisite in the charm of unsophisticated peasant life. The verbatim report of "My Life as a Slave," by Charles Stewart, an old Kentucky negro, is one of the best things in a rich and varied number. The portrait of Darwin is superb as a work of art, and reveals the great naturalist without the disguise of a beard. The paper on "Municipal Finance" deserves careful reading.

The November "Harper's" exhibits great editorial tact in its adaptation to the season. Its spirit is of the autumn rather than of the long summer days. That noble fall flower, the chrysanthemum, is splendidly engraved. Many will learn for the first time from Mr. Thorpe's article that the chrysanthemum is the national emblematic flower of the Chinese and Japanese, receiving the most reverential care and attention. Columbia College, whose history as King's College was traced in a preceding number, is very fully described by an anonymous writer, presumably Dr. Barnard. This college, on account of its situation in the city of New York, and from its great wealth through endowments in land, dating from colonial times, is likely to have an increasing future. The portraits accompanying this article are noteworthy. Joseph Hatton, an unsurpassed magazine writer, contributes a delightful sketch of Sir Joseph Hooker and the Botanical Gardens at Kew. "Norman Fisher Folk" have filled of late years a large place in art, and Mary Gay Humphreys makes them interesting by the careful study of their ways and spirit. Reinhart's pencil revels in the quaint costumes and pathetic expression of these toilers of the sea. Mr. Walden returns in this number to the "Great Hall of William Rufus," and reaches one of the most thrilling periods of its history. The frontispiece presents Vandyke's portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, his queen. This engraving is Mr. Closson's masterpiece. Soft, yet clear, preserving every characteristic of Vandyke's work except the color, it deserves a frame as the highest achievement of the American graver. In a totally different style is the full-page illustration on page 908 of Mr. Roe's "Serial Story." Mr. Bernstrom is only a degree behind Mr. Closson in the delicate strength of his work. The paper on Sydney Smith by Andrew Lang is excellent, and is sympathetic toward the strengths and weaknesses of that mad parson. The portrait, though the features are strong, shows in the lines of the mouth the undying fun which sometimes scandalized his calling.

The October "Century" does not equal its successor. The portrait of Austin Dobson exhibits the face of one of England's younger men of genius. It is an essentially musical face. The late war is not likely to lack historians. George F. Williams, in "Lights and Shadows of Army Life," achieves a distinct success in a well-worn field. The "Century" excels in the reproduction of etchings. Those of Edwin D. Forbes, illustrating this article, are of great power. Mr. Smalley, in the "Cœur d'Alene Stampede," shows how the spirit of '49 survives in this recent rush to new mining fields. It would seem that Edward Eggleston has laid aside the pen of the novelist for the quill of the historian. His article on "Social Conditions in the Colonies" is only a little less picturesque than the old houses and interiors engraved in illustration. Mr. Stillman, in his Homeric Studies, reaches the "Odyssey and its Epoch." The engravings are of the less known parts of Greece. Religious thinkers will find much to stir and profit in Washington Gladden's study of "Christianity and Wealth." The matter and illustration of Mr. Langley's explanation of the

"New Astronomy" are of the highest order. Nowhere can our readers find so full and fresh information as to the most recent facts and conclusions of astronomical science. A very valuable feature of the "Century" is the open letters, always discussing topics of the highest interest.

The November number is the best issued in a long time. Elihu Vedder is a man of genius, but not all the products of genius are pleasing. The frontispiece is by Mr. Vedder, and is of the same type as the figures on the cover. They are certainly vigorous, and as certainly coarse. They attract attention very much as any writhing forms are fascinating. But his pictures are not beautiful. Austin Dobson's poem on "The Sedan Chair" is a graceful bit, and the illustrations, while sketchy, are telling. The genius of Howells is manifest in the initial chapter of his new story, "The Rise of Silas Lapham." The most interesting paper, from the novelty of its subject, is that on the "Chinese Theater." The full-page illustration on page 36 is a marvel of good work. Mr. M'Dowell says of the social esteem in which Chinese actors are held, or rather not held, "that they occupy in China the lowest social caste. They are incapacitated from holding any place under the government, and the rule applies to all the sons and grandsons as well." The heathen Chinamen would appear to have evolved a prejudice against the actor's calling not unlike that known in Christian lands. Mary Hallock Foote supplies Mr. Janvier's story of "The Lost Mine" with a magnificent illustration. The paper on the "Sculptors of the Early Italian Renaissance" is of only moderate interest and merit. The reproductions of the old drawings will, however, carry it. Annie Fields's account of her acquaintance with Charles Reade has some biographical interest. But the article which of itself would give this number a wide sale is that by Gen. Beauregard on "The Battle of Bull Run." It is written in excellent temper, and betrays the disposition to criticise Jefferson Davis which was manifest in the general's recent military biography. The portraits are remarkable, and many of the illustrations are from photographs only recently accessible. This series is to be a marked feature of the "Century" for some months to come. George Ticknor Curtis, always a thoughtful writer, betrays his tendency to live in the past by advocating the restoration of the power of free choice to the members of the electoral college. The drift is rather to the choice of the President by direct vote.

The November "Atlantic" is by no means remarkable. Most of the articles are of class interest, a fault into which the recent management of the "Atlantic" has not often fallen. Yet Brooks Adams has a good study of the ancient guild as the foundation of the commonwealth idea, and Maurice Thompson makes a very readable paper on the haunts of the mocking-bird. We find nothing of value in the posthumous paper by Henry James, Sr. It is a thinly-veiled biographical sketch of very little merit. The lengthier reviews in the "Atlantic" are always well done. There are also some good suggestions in Mr. Shaler's presentation of the Negro problem.

There has been a great improvement in "Lippincott's" in respect of the quality of its engravings. They are not numerous enough now to be a very strong feature in this Magazine. The quality is, however, excellent. The readers of the Review will be detained by not more than two articles. Mr. Kirke writes in an interesting fashion of a trip up the French Broad, one of the most picturesque of Southern rivers; and the author of "Study and Stimulants" presents John Bright as a temperance reformer. Theologians as well as scientific men will do well to read what Dr. Francis J. Shepherd has to say in the October "Popular Science Monthly" concerning "The Significance of Human Anomalies." It is a development of the idea, on which the evolutionists lay great stress, that anomalous muscles, bones, and organs frequently found in the human subject, betray descent from some anthropoid, but not human, type. The inaugural address of Lord Rayleigh, at Montreal, is given in full. It traces the recent progress of physical science in a clear and pleasing fashion. This address is conceived in a very different spirit from that which gave John Tyndall notoriety rather than fame. Another noteworthy paper is that on "The Morality of Happiness," in which an attempt is made, not without ingenuity, to find a natural basis for morality. Perhaps Prof. J. P. Cooke's discussion of the "Greek Question" ought to be included in the list of valuable papers.

The October and November numbers of the "Canadian Methodist Magazine" increase our respect for this excellent religious family magazine. Its papers on travel, education, mission work, and religion are excellently well adapted to increase intelligence, inspire devotion and quicken religious activity. It is a singular fact that no religious periodical of this class seems to succeed this side of the Dominion line.

The preacher need not in these days go without homiletic aids. Besides the larger works on homiletics there are two monthlies which very thoroughly represent current pulpit teaching. The "Homiletic Monthly" (Funk and Wagnalls) has been longest in the field, and has gained a high place in the esteem of many. While this and the "Pulpit Treasury" (E. B. Treat) are both surpassingly good aids to an honest student, they need to be used with care, lest, on the one hand, the excellence of the matter produce discouragement, and the quantity of the matter, on the other hand, create a disposition to rely on the preparation of others. Rightly used, there can be no more valuable helps to the minister than these excellent chronicles of current pulpit work.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D., late Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. Two vols., pp. 698 and 826. Second Edition. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. London: Longman, Green, & Co.

It had seemed that the department of Biblical and Christian learning properly included under the designation of the "Life of Christ" had been so fully occupied that there was no longer room for any new-comer. But the elaborate work of Dr. Weiss was accepted on its appearance as covering points still vacant, and presenting views that had not before appeared; and now we have yet another work on the same general theme, but very unlike the former, so learned and elaborate as to command respectful attention, and make its study a necessity to all who would be acquainted with the literature of the subject, or view its wonderful story in some of its most important aspects. The author of this work, though not much known in this country, where none of his writings have till now been published (except his annotated translation of Kurtz's "History of the Old Covenant," Philadelphia, 1859), has, however, been recognized by scholars, both in England and this country, as a writer of painstaking fidelity and of extensive learning in his chosen specialty, as is amply shown in his "History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus" (12mo, Edinburgh, 1867), and his "The Temple: Its Ministry and Services as they were in the Time of Christ" (8vo, London, 1874), both of which have an intimate relation to his chief work, named above. This reprint is from the second English edition (the first was issued only little more than a year earlier, September, 1883, and was probably a very limited one, as to the number of copies, and not stereotyped), and the enlarged demand that has called out this second and more permanent issue is indicative of the favor with which the work has been received. It was reviewed in the "Edinburgh" for January, 1884.

The author is known to us only by his writings. His style of writing and methods of thought are those of an English biblical scholar, which designation includes those of his class in this country; but he differs widely from the German and other continental writers, and to our thinking, very much for the better. But both his German patronym and the specific lines of thought in which

all his studies and writings run suggest a probably Israelitish ancestry, and out of these come to us some of the most valuable properties of the work, in both the body of the narrative with its discussions and illustrations, and more especially in the learned Introduction of a hundred pages, and the nineteen Appendixes.

The second subject named in the title, the "Times" of the Christ, is elaborated with special fullness. The Introduction attempts to reproduce the details of Jewish life and thought, the political, social, and religious conditions of the people, at and immediately before the beginning of our era—their Messianic expectations, and their mental and spiritual enslavement to Rabbinism. If Christ's own history is the drama produced in these pages, the environments of his life constitute the scenery among which it was enacted, and their presentation seems needful to the proper understanding of the evangelical story; and these are here given with a fullness and a wealth of learning that is seldom seen in works of this character. So rich is the setting of the jewel that one may hesitate to decide which of the two is, as to its form, the more admirable. At every point of the sacred narrative not only the facts as stated by the evangelists are brought out clearly, and their places and relations determined, but their attendant conditions and circumstances are reproduced, not, however, in the form of imaginary ideals, but as realities taught and illustrated by competent authorities. The only available objection that can be made against the work is its wonderful fullness and wealth of matter.

It is not a work for hasty and superficial reading; but to the real student, whose purpose is to fully comprehend the New Testament narrative in its objective presentation, and by that means the better to appreciate its deep spiritual significance, this great work may be recommended with all confidence. In no other that we have seen—and we have endeavored to be acquainted with its literature—is the subject so fully discussed in its historical relations and bearings; and at the same time the great spiritual truths which permeate and suffuse the records of Christ's ministry are every-where brought to the front and made the governing idea of the writing. As a literary production these volumes are evidently the rich harvest of a life-time of diligent husbandry, pursued with industry and singleness of purpose, and the result abundantly justifies the outlay.

History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. By EDWARD (WILHELM EUGENE) REUSS, Professor in the University of Strasburg (Germany). Translated from the Fifth Revised and Enlarged German Edition, with Numerous Bibliographical Additions. By EDWARD L. HOUGHTON, A.M. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. New York: 11 East 17th Street.

This work, now first given to the English reading public, has been long and favorably known to biblical scholars since its first appearance, more than thirty years ago. Its advent was at a time when the destructive criticism of the Tübingen school had passed its zenith, and was giving place to better methods of inquiry. The author's position or method, in the performance of his self-imposed task, is the "historico-critical," submitting his subject to just such treatment, in endeavoring to determine its character and authority, as must be given to any and every document, ancient or modern, religious or secular. This method of treatment is now very generally accepted; but as a writer's own cast of mind and habits of thinking very largely affect the force of the evidence with which he deals, and often determine the results of his investigations, so, while following the same objective methods, different critics will arrive at wholly diverse conclusions, according to their dissimilar subjective inclinations. So this writer, because he hesitates to accept any supernatural conception of Christianity which includes the specifically divine element in the Scriptures, so applies the accepted method of criticism as to reach results that would not be reached were that element received as a factor in the problem. But though his stand-point is that of a rationalist, his style of argumentation, very unlike many of his predecessors of the same school, is logically fair and reverent in spirit; and while excluding the supernatural from the premises with the concession of which the argument must begin, its reality is allowed to be possible, but not available, because it is transcendental.

The Christian student, who in studying this great work shall make the requisite corrections to rectify the writer's mental aberrations, will find in it an uncounted store of the most valuable, because available, learning touching the subjects considered. After a brief introductory glance at the oral teachings of Christ and the apostles—giving special prominence to the ministry of St. Paul—he passes to the period of the production of the apostolic literature—the latter half of the first century—during which all the canonical books of the New Testament were written. After that he comes to the formation of the canon, by including certain books and excluding others; a work which he thinks was

generally well done, though by no official authority, and not always absolutely correctly on either side. Next is given some account of the preservation of the New Testament writings, including the history of the text, with their diffusion throughout Christendom, their theological use, and finally the history of exegesis. As a thoroughly learned, fair (as seen from the author's point of view), and eminently able handling of these subjects, we know of nothing better; and, notwithstanding a qualified dissent from some of the conclusions reached, it may be cordially recommended to any who may be seeking to master its subjects. The translation here given deserves most emphatic approval. In many Anglicised German works, the so-called translation remains essentially German in its style and forms of utterance, though given in English words; but not so in this case. The purpose declared by the translator, "to render the thought as accurately as possible, and at the same time in fairly idiomatic and readable English," has been accomplished with exceptional completeness. The reading very seldom suggests any of the characteristics of the original German, so proving the incorrectness of the assumption sometimes made, that our language is not competent to embody the ideas that are familiar to German writers.

This work, as now given to English readers, makes a valuable contribution to our apparatus for biblical study, for which not only the author, but also the translator and the publishers, are entitled to our thanks.

The Possibilities of Grace. By Rev. Asbury Lowrey, D.D. 12mo, pp. 472. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A well-chosen title makes a favorable output for any new book, and such is that chosen by Dr. Lowrey for this his latest production. The outward appearance of the book will also make favor for it, for in type, paper, and binding it is such a book as one likes to take in hand. As to its contents, it is a treatise on the religious life, or Christian experience, viewed and presented with especial reference to its "possibilities" in its advanced and matured stages. As will be inferred, it belongs to the somewhat numerous class of books—some very good, and some not so good—that make up our modern "holiness" literature, and in that goodly company it deserves an honorable place. In its substance and scope it is almost identical with Bishop Merrill's "Aspects of Christian Experience;" but the two are distinguished from each other by characteristic peculiarities, the latter being the broader

and the former the more intense. As a professor of the "higher life," Dr. Lowrey undertakes to set forth its character and conditions, its relations to spiritual religion in its widest conception, and he carefully guards the subject against misapprehensions and abuses. The book is happily arranged and well written; its methods of discussion are commendable, its temper good, and its taste unexceptionable. It merits a ready reception among works of its class.

The doctrinal views expressed are generally of the orthodox Methodist pattern. The fact of original sin in man's nature is assumed or treated as a first truth, and the overthrow and extirpation of this "fault" is presented as the great purpose of God's grace as manifested in religious experience. But this is seldom or never accomplished at the beginning of the new life, and therefore growth in grace and conflicts with inbred sin go forward in the life of the believer till the completed work is effected. To these views no sound Methodist of the Wesleyan type can take any exceptions, nor need we intimate any dissent from the general teaching of the book, at any important point; and if it contains but little that has not been before said, there may be enough of newness and freshness in the saying to justify this substantial repetition.

It is quite manifest, and some may consider it as undesirable, that a portion of our excellent people constitute a class of specialists in respect to religious experience. They not only use their own methods, but they have a peculiar dialect, and words and phrases as used by them have come to have special and somewhat technical significations. "Sanctification," and "holiness," and many like terms that in Holy Scripture and in general religious discourse are used to designate the ordinary fruits of the Spirit in believers, are narrowed down so as to indicate only a specific and ultimate work of grace; and while Christ and his apostles, and the godly of all the ages of the Church, have been intent on cultivating the work of grace with equal diligence in all its stages, these good people appear to concern themselves almost wholly with that higher grade into which (so much more is the pity) comparatively few have come. There can be no question but that "the possibilities of grace" reach forward to a blessed fullness, and for that all are called to labor; but there are very many steps in the ascent below the topmost landing, and for those upon these most of the labor of Christ's ministers must be expended; and some may even doubt whether there is any special landing-

place in the ascent of the soul heavenward till the end is reached. We have named some of the good qualities of Dr. Lowrey's book, and there are still others that might be named. To some readers such books are especially acceptable, and may be profitable; but the spiritual tastes of others will covet spiritual diet prepared and presented in less artificial styles. Theories in religion, whether of the head or the heart, are less valuable than the faith that accepts, without a theory, the grace that brings salvation.

Jesus Christ, God, God and Man. Conferences delivered at Notre Dame in Paris. By Rev. Père Lacordaire, of the Order of Friar Preachers. A new edition in one volume. 12mo, pp. 418. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Besides the self-aggrandizing ecclesiasticism of the Church of Rome and its soul-killing literalism and formalities, it also embodies substantial Christian doctrine, and it likewise has within its communion a class of deeply pious (many of them also pietistic) Christians who, despite the unwholesome influences among which they reside, are leading lives of real faith and devotion. This better side of Romanism is presented in these discourses of Père Lacordaire, in which, with the accidents of his Church relations and life, he most happily and forcibly sets forth some of the great fundamental truths of Christianity which belong to Protestants no less than to Catholics, to wit: Christian theism, the person and work of Christ, and the intercourse between God and man in Christian life. It is a wholesome book, if read with proper discrimination, and well adapted to awaken deep devotional feelings.

Spiritual Life; Its Nature, Urgency, and Crowning Excellence. By Rev. J. H. Potts, A.M., Detroit. 16mo, pp. 230. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884.

This is a kindred book to that of Dr. Lowrey, noticed above, and yet with specific differences; and in their points of difference we prefer this work to that, as broader and more catholic. Such books are chiefly valuable as aids to personal religious culture, though they are not without their dogmatic implications and didactic suggestions. In literary ability and good taste, as well as for its adaptation to awaken religious impulses, it is deserving of decided commendations. Its extensive use would do good.

The Reality of Faith. By Newman Smyth, Author of "Old Faiths in New Light," etc. 12mo, pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Smyth made himself famous, and so awakened opposition and procured promotion, by stating certain rather commonplace

notions in unusual and somewhat exaggerated forms of words. It is quite evident that he is not a bad heretic, and probably as he grows older, and his imagination comes to be less disproportioned to his judgment, and when he has thought himself through the subjects he has in hand, it will be found that his theology is neither new nor strange. This last output of his ever-restless brain probably will neither hasten nor retard the transition through which the subject, though probably himself not aware of it, is evidently passing.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of Methodism. Comprising a View of the Rise of this Revival of Spiritual Religion in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Principal Agents by whom it was Promoted in Europe and America. With some Account of the Doctrines and Polity of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, and the Means and Manner of its Extension down to A. D. 1884. By HOLLAND N. M'TYEIRE, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 8vo, pp. 688. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

With this very long title—which is fairly indicative of the contents of the book—Bishop M'Tyeire, having been requested to undertake the work by the Centennial Committee and the "college" of Bishops of his Church, presents to the public a rapid, succinct, but comprehensive sketch of Methodism generally, and of American Methodism as a whole, down to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and thenceforward the history of that branch of Methodism to this Centennial Year. As a specimen of mechanical and artistic book-making the volume in hand is highly creditable to its publishers. The paper, printing, binding, and illustrations (on steel) are all good, and in all its exterior the work is worthy of its occasion. As a literary production it is also creditable to its author, who, having an immense mass of matter from which to choose his materials, has quite satisfactorily selected and omitted, so as to bring together within the prescribed limits the salient and representative points out of which to weave the purposed narrative according to the ideal in his mind and purpose; and it is done with commendable literary skill.

The real character and attitude of the work, as designed by its author, is fairly indicated in a single sentence in the preface: "The reader is advertised that this is not a history of Southern Methodism, but of Methodism from a Southern point of view," though this must be qualified by the concession that it is, as to

the period from 1844–45, onward, specifically and nearly exclusively a history of Southern Methodism. A further indication of its purpose is given in the remark that "Methodism in the South has suffered injustice from the manner in which it has been presented by learned, honest, and able writers in the North." The presence and influence of the ruling thought indicated by these two observations may be detected throughout the volume. The writer is calm and kindly-disposed, with no apparent wish to renew the strifes of the past; but he cannot remand the subject of those conflicts to silence without a restatement of the case and a final plea in behalf of his own side.

Evidently the discussions about the points which have divided the opinions of American Methodists, and which have seemed to have different aspects in different latitudes of the country, are not yet at their end; but passing from merely local, temporary, and personal debates, they are now receiving the broader and better consideration that their dignity and importance demands. From the first the Methodists of the South, in sympathy with the aristocratico-barbaric civilization of their region, inclined to favor something of a prelatical character in the episcopacy, and to guard the "prerogatives" of the *magnates* quite as jealously as the "rights and privileges" of *the commons;* while in the North an opposite tendency has been manifest. And out of these fundamentally opposite tendencies has grown up most of the conflicts which have agitated the body — though it is somewhat remarkable that the border States of the South have contributed some of the ablest advocates of the liberal side. The political divergences of the two sections have had their effects upon the prevalent views of their ecclesiastical affairs; and the end of these things is not yet. The thoughtful observer will not fail to see, that, after the similitude of the unborn sons of Rebecca, two nations were in the womb of early American Methodism, and two manners of people have all along contended in its organic structure. The High-Church party has contemplated its ecclesiastical authority as an heir-loom descended from Wesley, and perpetuated by a continuation of the ecclesiastical successors of that great "Apostle." With them, therefore, the episcopacy is possessed of certain inalienable *prerogatives* which cannot be eliminated nor modified except by revolutionary proceedings. This was the attitude of those, chiefly Southerners, who effectually resisted and reversed the will of the majority of the General Conference, in 1820, on the famous "Pre-

siding Elder Question;" and which also, in 1844, gallantly but ineffectually strove to shield the episcopal status, as they viewed it, which they thought they saw invaded in the person of one of its incumbents. The theory of their opponents is, that the American Methodist episcopacy was indigenous to the soil—a sporadic development from the living body of the Church, which (Church) antedates by a score of years the advent of a Methodist Bishop in America. They hold that Coke became a Bishop, not by Wesley's "ordination" and appointment, but by the action of the Conference of 1784, which accepted him in that relation, to which office Asbury was also raised by the election of the Conference, and ordained according to its instructions. Acting upon this idea, the Conference soon afterward effectually repudiated Wesley's authority over them; and a little later, first reduced Coke to the status of an assistant superintendent under Asbury, and at length effectually deposed him without trial or formal complaint against him. The same principles were brought to bear, in 1844, in the case of Bishop Andrew, a proceeding which is fully justified, as to its legality, by that theory as it cannot be by any other. The General Conference of 1884 formally reaffirmed these principles, and vindicated the action of the fathers in 1844, as nothing else could do.

In considering these things "from a Southern point of view," Bishop M'Tyeire presents the "High-Church" side of the questions and controversies of which he writes, as, of course, he has the right to do. The positions held and the claims set forth by the Methodists of the "Church South" are in harmony with their cherished fundamental ideas of Methodist Church polity, and they are entitled to respect for their practical loyalty to their own convictions. But just how the High-Church advocates in Northern Methodism reconcile the action of 1844 with their principles, is a question that we need not answer. If they are theoretically correct, it would seem that the Methodist Episcopal Church owes it to herself, and to the truth of history, to disclaim any sympathy with the action that suspended Bishop Andrew, and as far as possible to reverse that action, with due confession and contrition—all of which, most likely, will NOT be done in the near future.

The view of the progress of Methodism in all lands during the century succeeding Mr. Wesley's earliest Conferences is alike marvelous and cause for devout thanksgiving, all of which Bishop M'Tyeire presents in a graphic and life-like, though

necessarily condensed, sketch, as also others before him have done. But his sketch of the Church South, in both the period of construction immediately after the "Separation," and that of reconstruction after the "War of Secession," are comparatively new matter of history, and the things there stated cannot fail to awaken admiration at the immense resources for recuperation it has displayed. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is to-day no inconsiderable factor in the problem of the moral and religious affairs of the future of the nation; and, while emphatically dissenting from its theoretical ecclesiasticism, we give it a hearty Godspeed in all its evangelistic designs and achievements. And to that work Bishop M'Tyeire's book will prove a valuable auxiliary, and, indeed, it will stand an honor and a boon to "ecumenical" Methodism. Lamenting, as we do, any deficiency of Christian forbearance in the process of division and in the subsequent relations of the two Methodisms—as seen from the present point of view—it seems to be demonstrated that the separation was not only a necessity, but for the best interests of all concerned. The history of Abraham and Lot, and their separation each from the other in the interests of peace, is paralleled in this case; and the causes which called for separation forty years ago remain to this present. But the division is no longer geographical. There are three "nations" in the South, to only one of which, though that is both the most numerous and the most highly cultivated, is the Church South the best qualified to minister; and in order that in all that region the poor shall have the Gospel preached to them, it is needful that a Church based upon other ideas should set up its banners and permanently pitch its tents among them. The division of labor in that field is a recognized fact. Let each one stand in his lot, and then "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim," but each in his own way shall fly upon the shoulders of their spiritual enemies.

Centennial History of American Methodism. inclusive of the Period of its Ecclesiastical Organization and its Subsequent Development under the Superintendency of Francis Asbury. With Sketches of the Character and History of all the Preachers known to have been Members of the Christmas Conference; also, an Appendix, showing the Numerical Position of the Methodist Episcopal Church as compared with the other leading Evangelical Denominations in the Cities of the United States; and the Condition of the Educational Work of the Church. By JOHN ATKINSON, D.D. 12mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884. Price, $2.

The "Centennial" seems likely to serve a valuable purpose in respect to original Methodist history. Heretofore our histories

have consisted chiefly of apologetics and heroics. They were called for by the times. But the time has fully come for truthful and discriminating examinations and presentations of the events and the men of the early days of Methodism, and precisely that thing is here attempted by Dr. Atkinson, and executed with a good share of success. Those "grand old heroes"—ancestors are nearly always heroes—will not suffer by being set in a clear historical light, with all their human traits laid open to inspection. We are glad that Dr. Atkinson, whose patience in research is proverbial, has undertaken and completed such a work.

Teachers and Teaching; or, The Sunday-school Teacher's Teaching Work, and the other Work of the Sunday-school Teacher. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D., Editor of the "Sunday-School Times," etc. 12mo, pp. 390. Philadelphia: John D. Waters.

Dr. H. Clay Trumbull has the right to speak *ex cathedra* to all Sunday-school workers—for he has not only given his life-long efforts to that work, but has also accustomed himself to carefully note all its phases, and to put into shape, and then into print, the results of his observations. By that process this volume has grown up, much of its matter having before seen the light, chiefly in "The Sunday-School Times," but large portions also in other periodicals. His method combines philosophic discussions of the subject of teaching, especially as called for in the Sunday-school, and specific rules and directions for rendering his own conclusions practically available. As no adequate statement of the contents can be given in the limits at our disposal, we can only commend the book to the attention of our readers, with the conviction that its careful study will be abundantly compensated to all who may use it in the spirit in which it is written.

Hebrew Lessons. A Book for Beginners. By H. G. Mitchell, Ph.D., Boston University. Small quarto, pp. 68. Boston: Ginn, Heath, & Co.

A knowledge of the Hebrew is a necessary preparation for the critical study of the Old Testament; and as just now the attention of the learned world is especially directed to that part of the Holy Scriptures, that knowledge is more than ever before a prerequisite not only for engaging in the conflicts of the times, but also for intelligently following the discussions which constitute a special feature of the biblical literature of the present age. It is well, therefore, that all possible helps shall be afforded for the acquisition of a mastery of the language of our oldest Scriptures; and we are glad to see just such a work as this of Professor

Mitchell, which seems to be peculiarly adapted to the wants of "beginners." The mechanical execution of the work is all that could be desired.

The Beloved Physician: Walter C. Palmer. M.D., and his Sunlit Journey to the Celestial City. By his Colleague, Rev. George Hughes. With an Introduction by Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D.D. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: Palmer & Hughes.

Dr. Palmer was for nearly fifty years a somewhat conspicuous figure in New York Methodism, though he seemed always content to accept the second place, while his wife, Mrs. Phœbe Palmer, held the first. The two were joint laborers for the promotion of the "higher Christian life," in which they operated together as true yoke-fellows, and with not inconsiderable success. During the earlier part of their career they encountered some degree of opposition, in respect to both their doctrines and their methods; but not so in their later years. But whether the change was the result of a higher spiritual tone in the Church, or because their own bearing became less belligerent with ripening years—as Etna's fires grow dim at break of day—may be an open question. Certainly the later years of "The Beloved Physician" were strongly marked by a quiet godliness of manner which seemed to encircle his head like an aureola. This volume, which purports to be his memoirs, is meager in properly biographical matter, being largely made up of excerpts from Mrs. Palmer's letters, and miscellaneous extracts from the "Guide to Holiness," of which first she, and then he, was a long time the editor. A very good steel-plate portrait serves as a frontispiece.

The Life of Robert Paine, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. By R. H. Rivers, Author of "Our Young People," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. W. P. Harrison, D.D., Book Editor, etc. 12mo, pp. 314 (with a portrait). Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Our Southern brethren seem disposed to write their own history and to commemorate their own heroes, which is well. Of those heroes Bishop Paine was a decidedly good specimen; if not among the most brilliant, yet of solid worth. As is desirable in such a relation, the biographer was an attached friend and admirer of his subject, and the work he has produced is a beautiful tribute to the memory of a good man. The "Introduction," by Dr. Harrison, is a somewhat elaborate essay on the influence of early Methodism on American civilization, with some references to mooted questions in Methodist polity, a subject which is usually viewed from the stand-point of the successful party, and therefore the presentation may be one-sided.

Thomas Carlyle. A History of his Life in London, 1834–1881. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 12mo, pp. 417. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Froude is certainly producing a very readable sketch of his great subject, despite any infelicities, supposed or real, of either or both the author and his subject. Without denying or very much palliating Mr. Carlyle's unamiabilities, the writer presents them with their conditions, which in many cases show them in a better light than that in which they have hitherto been seen. A fuller discussion of the qualities and merits of the work is reserved till the publication of the complete set.

Country Cousins: Short Studies in the Natural History of the United States. By ERNEST INGERSOLL, Author of "Friends Worth Knowing," "Knocking Round the Rockies," "The Ice Queen," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 247. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Ingersoll, in the books heretofore issued, has at once made the public his debtor and achieved for himself a valuable reputation as an instructive and pleasing writer, especially on subjects of natural history as the "common people" see such things. In this volume his chosen subjects are not those the most generally favored. They are toads, and dormice, and "birds of the brookside," snakes, oysters, and starfishes, with a glance of Pike's Peak and its native denizens. The young people who have been delighted and instructed by the author's earlier volumes will desire to possess this, and it will not disappoint them.

Manual of Biblical Geography. A Text-Book on Biblical History, especially Prepared for the Use of Students and Teachers of the Bible, and for Sunday-school Instruction, containing Maps, Plans, Review Charts, Colored Diagrams, and Illustrated with Accurate Views of the Principal Cities and Localities known to Bible History. By Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, D.D., Assistant Editor "International Sunday-School Lesson Commentary," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., Superintendent of Instruction, Chautauqua. 4to, pp. 158. Chicago: Rand, M'Nally, & Co., The Continental Publishing Company. $4 50 cloth; $3 75 boards.

The very full and accurately descriptive title, given above, of this elegant and really valuable manual renders further description largely unnecessary. For its ability and adaptation, the names of those who prepared it and under whose auspices it is sent forth will prove to any who have not seen it a pledge of its sufficiency; and the confidence so begotten will not suffer under examination. It will, wherever used—and alike to private readers of the Bible and Sunday-school teachers and pupils—prove a pleasant and a highly useful companion.

Hindu Philosophy Popularly Explained: The Orthodox Systems. By RAM CHANDRA BOSE, A.M., of Lucknow, India, Author of "Brahmoism." 12mo, pp. 420. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this work is a somewhat remarkable product of our cosmopolitan age. He is a Hindu of pure blood, early converted to Christianity, and educated at Dr. Duff's college in Calcutta. He has also largely profited in the religions and philosophy of his own country, so that he is able to present inside views of the subjects of which he treats. Such a production is a valuable addition to our stock of information respecting Hindu learning and thought. It is written in good and nervous English, and in a style that cannot fail to be understood.

POLITICS, LAW, AND GENERAL MORALS.

The Liquor Problem in all Ages. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 656. Illustrated. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Dr. Dorchester is great on statistics, and here he has found a broad and fruitful field for the exercise of his genius. In respect to the subject here treated, statistical knowledge is especially valuable, and when given with adequate fullness, such statistics are tremendously eloquent. Of this portly volume, the first "Part," of a hundred and forty pages, is made up of an account of the use of alcoholic stimulants in all ages and nations, and though necessarily brief it is comprehensive. The rest of the book, designated "Part Second," is devoted to the "Temperance Reformation," the record of which the author distributes into three "periods:" "The Inception," 1785–1825; "Organization and Advance," 1826–1860; "Latest Phases," 1860–1884. The field of observation of the whole of this "Part" is our own country, except a brief reference, in the third period, to some recent movements in Great Britain.

The historical statements respecting the first of these periods, that of "Inception," is especially valuable, as showing the incipient movements of a force which has become at length so fully developed and thoroughly organized that its presence is recognized and its efficient action felt or found in all ranks and classes of society. In the history of this period the name of Dr. Benjamin Rush justly occupies the first place, and a significant fact in that great philanthropist's career is that recorded by Rev. Jesse Lee in his account of the Methodist Conference of 1788, held in Philadelphia, that "the celebrated Dr. Rush visited it, and

delivered an earnest and animated address on the use of ardent spirits,... and he besought the Conference to use their influence to stop *the use*, as well as the abuse, of ardent spirits." There was something prophetic in that meeting, when on the one hand physiological and medical science, and evangelical propagandism on the other, met together in the field of Christian philanthropy to set the brand of condemnation upon a vicious practice, and to designate its only effective remedy. The whole temperance reform, as it is now known, was there in embryo. After Dr. Rush came a succession of worthies—Dr. Lyman Beecher, Heman Humphrey, N. S. Prime, Calvin Chapin, Wilbur Fisk, Abbott, Worcester, Channing, still widening into a great multitude, to enumerate which even Dr. Dorchester's marvelous statistical powers are unequal.

Of the period of "Organization," beginning with 1826, we have been a personal observer from the first, and since 1828 a participator, *in minime.*

The founders of these "cold-water societies" of fifty years ago —which were often among the least pretentious gatherings of the people in halls and school-houses, and as appendages to the debating society or the farmers' clubs—were building better than they knew, and their movements were the first symptoms of one of the greatest and most beneficial, because the most needed, moral and social reformations of the age; and like the first stages of all great movements, this was then quite incomplete in its character, and showing very faint intimations as to "whereunto these things would grow." And yet the germs of the whole plant, as it is now developed, with its prophecy and potency for still larger results, were all there; and in that fact lies the essence of its invincibleness and the pledge of its final triumph.

The history of the temperance movement, from its inception downward to the present, is both curious and instructive, well calculated to inspire hope, though in many cases it was very far from being wisely and ably managed. As it has been said of the Church that it must be of God, or it would have been ruined by those who have undertaken to manage its affairs, so the temperance cause evinces its indestructibleness by its survival and growth in spite of the treatment it has received from its friends.

But its outlook is full of hope. Its warfare is by no means nearly accomplished; in fact, it is just beginning in good earnest. There has been a good deal of skirmishing and sporadic uprisings, but the time has come for organized action, with the massing of

its forces, the open declaration of war to the death, and the placing of the array under competent leaders. What has been done need not to be depreciated, for all these stages of its development were necessary, and as they have done their work well and worthily, so now other men and methods must take their places. The Church has steadily advanced its positions, till, as a whole, it is now pretty closely abreast with the reformatory column, and the government, in obedience to the popular will, enforced by the convictions and the conscience of the masses, must take its place as the executioner in this conflict and victory. Our political parties have the alternatives presented, to adopt the prohibition of the liquor traffic among their chief purposes, or to go down under the power of the popular verdict. This may not, probably will not, come all at once, nor till after many partial defeats and partial victories, but the incoming of the tide or the changes of the seasons are scarcely more certain and irresistible than are such moral revolutions.

We are very glad that this book has been written, and we hope it may be very widely circulated and read. Its great practical value is in the fact that it must produce conviction and arouse men's consciences, just the things as to which our popular temperance movements have chiefly failed. But the day of decision has evidently come, and every man must take his place on one or the other side of the temperance question, which means on the better side, *total abstinence for the Individual, and total prohibition for the Government.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Nature's Serial Story. By EDWARD P. ROE, Author of "Barriers Burned Away," etc. Illustrated by W. Hamilton Gibson and F. Dielman. 8vo, pp. 430. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Those who read serials in the Magazines—we never do—may have become acquainted with this work, as it has appeared in "Harper's" during the current year. Here the numbers are brought together in a really beautiful volume, with the exquisite illustrations that appeared in the monthly—altogether making a superior holiday book.

Mr. Roe is well known as a writer of fiction, and so well have his productions responded to the public demands that his books have had an exceptionally large sale. This one, though written in the form of a fiction, is evidently such only as to its

form and special details. It is a transcript from nature—the country homestead and its occupants, the fields and orchards and meadows, the forests and mountains, the sunshine and rain, the wind and the thunder-storm, the birds and the beasts and creeping things, with the changing skies and seasons. These are wrought into the personal story of a country family of the better class, with the inevitable summer visitant from the city. As a novel, the work is not of a high order, though it has the due amount of love-making; but to the lover of natural objects and scenery, as they appear to all such, with the vicissitudes of the changing year, and especially to one personally familiar with the things that are herein described, as is the writer of this notice, these descriptions possess a genuine charm. As a delineator of these things Mr. Roe is not to be compared with Thoreau or John Burrows; but he delights in nature, and succeeds in imparting some of his enthusiasm to his readers. This is, therefore, a pleasant book to have at hand, to be looked into at leisure times, when it will both please and instruct; and the pictures will bear often-repeated examinations.

Forty-fifth Year-Book of De Pauw University: Containing an Historical Sketch of the Institution; an Outline of the Organization: the Triennial Record of the Alumni; the Course of Study; the Catalogue of Students; and General Miscellany, for the year 1883-84.

After a successful career of nearly half a century, not without some vicissitudes and felt wants, "Indiana Asbury University," chiefly through the liberality of a single individual, advances prospectively to the front rank of Methodist institutions of learning, and with its improved status also adopts the name of its chief patron. Its past career has been honorable, and now its outlook is full of promise. Its year-book, an octavo of 308 pages, presents an almost bewildering array of "schools" and "colleges" and "lectureships" and "departments," with accounts of the provisions made for their maintenance, and the successful prosecution of its work. Its faculty is an able one, with Bishop Bowman for its Chancellor, and Dr. Alexander Martin, who has successfully administered its affairs since 1875, as President and head of its local administration. The outlook of its affairs is exceedingly hopeful.

Shobab: A Tale of Bethesda. (A Poem.) By JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 145. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons.

The versification is good, the style elevated, and the imagery poetical.

Harper and Brothers are issuing, in extra weekly numbers, Stormonth's "Dictionary of the English Language." It will extend to over twenty numbers, which together will make a volume of more than 1,200 pages. The type is good—not large—a fac-simile of the English copy, being made from duplicate plates. It is certainly a valuable work, embodying all that has been so well and ably wrought out in precedent works of its class, especially Webster's. Its *Vocabulary* is comprehensive, the *Pronunciation* is clearly made out, the *Etymologies* full and learned, and the *Definitions* precise and clear and rich. The appendixes now usually found in dictionaries will appear, wholly rewritten, corrected, and greatly enriched.

Indian History for Young Folks. By FRANCIS S. DRAKE. With Numerous Illustrations. 8vo, pp. 479. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Though abounding with valuable information, in common with nearly all the records of affairs between the white men and the native savages of this country, this book is not pleasant reading. The conduct of the whites toward the Indians has usually been characterized by injustice and unscrupulousness, and that of the latter by dishonesty, treachery, and barbarous cruelty. The usual manner of telling this sad story has not been felicitous, for at one time there has been the picturing of the "noble red man," and at another the most sickening stories of savage bloodthirstiness and brutality, though in this volume these features are somewhat softened, perhaps at the expense of historical accuracy. The account here given extends from the earliest advent of Europeans to this continent to the recent past. It is well written, both as to style and the grouping of subjects, and without much of the false sentimentality that is usually found in such writings. It is apparently the story of a doomed race; for in the presence of white men of the Anglo-Saxon race savages of all nations, whether in war or peace, seem to waste away and die out.

Sketches and Rambles in Holland. By GEORGE A. BOUGHTON, A.R.A. With Illustrations by the Author and Edward A. Abbey. 8vo, pp. 142. New York: Harper & Brothers.

These are rollicking "sketches" of very miscellaneous "rambles" in the "Low Countries," and of scenes viewed through artistic eyes, and sketched with a view to the picturesque, with a slight dash of the comical. The narrative and descriptive matter is well done, and very readable, the latter quality being enhanced by the large print and clear white paper. The illustrations are characteristic and somewhat quaint, and very well executed.

Teachings and Counsels. Twenty Baccalaureate Sermons. With a Discourse on President Garfield. By MARK HOPKINS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 395. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Few men have been better qualified to teach and advise young men than the venerable late President of Williams College; and no doubt the circumstances among which these discourses were delivered called out his full powers; and, now that he has vacated the position which he so long adorned, it is well that his "Baccalaureates" should be preserved in book form. His graduates will prize them; and they will do good wherever read.

Some Literary Recollections. By JAMES PAYN, Author of "A Confidential Agent," etc. 12mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Judith Shakespeare: Her Love Affairs and Other Adventures. By WILLIAM BLACK, Author of "A Princess of Thule," etc. 12mo, pp. 391, also 4to, Franklin Square Library. New York: Harper & Brothers.

William Black is perhaps about the ablest of living novelists, and "Judith Shakespeare" will not damage his reputation.

Sonnets and Lyrics. By JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 42.

Love and Mirage; or, The Waiting on an Island. An Out-of-Door Romance. 18mo, pp. 239. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1885. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and J. L. HURLBUT, D.D. 8vo, pp. 333. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

My Aunt Jeanette. By Mrs. S. M. KIMBALL. Three Illustrations. 18mo, pp. 296. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Berean Question Book for 1885. 18mo, pp. 185.—*The Berean Beginner's Book for* 1885. 18mo, pp. 224.—*The Senior Lesson Book for* 1885. 18mo, pp. 191. New York: Phillips and Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Apostolic Life; as Revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple (London). Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 353. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Parker makes the grand, heroic men of the infant Church move vigorously and life-like before us, and their imperial oppressors he covers with shame and confusion. The various and exciting incidents connected with apostolic times are given with marvelous exhibition of exegetical skill and graphic delineations.

Sir Moses Montefiore. A Centennial Biography. With Selections from Letters and Journals. By LUCIEN WOLF. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Sir Moses, among all other strange happenings, has the unusual opportunity of knowing what will be said of him when dead; and as Mike said, when gazing at a showy funeral cortege, "Any man might be proud of such a funeral." That such should be the case with a Jew is a remarkable sign of our times.

Harper's Young People (for 1884). The bound volume makes a beautiful as well as valuable annual; and, as it has been a perennial during the current year, by virtue of its weekly visits, so will it be in future years, in its new form. It marks the high level to which juvenile literature has attained.

Left Behind; or, Ten Days a News-Boy. By JAMES OTIS, Author of "Toby Tyler," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A boy's story—such as boys like to read—of the less exceptional kind of its class.

Fifty Years of London Life. Memoirs of a Man of the World. By EDMUND YATES. 12mo, pp. 444. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A gossipy sketch of personal reminiscences—largely autobiographical—of a London theatrical man. It will be specially interesting to its own class, as it is also not without its value as a picture of the changing phases of the British metropolis for the last half-century.

Biographical Essays. By MAX MULLER, A.M. *Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Sarasvati, Bunyiu Nanjio and Kenjiu Kasawara, Mohl, and Kingsley.* 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

These are some of Max Müller's larger "Chips."

Rhetoric Made Racy; or, Aids to Good English. A Companion Book in the Study of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Composition, for Schools, Reading Circles, Literary Societies, and Self-Culture. By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, A.M., and H. F. FISK, A.M. 18mo, pp. 283. Chicago: George Sherwood & Co.

"Laughing, to teach the truth."

The People's Church Pulpit. Edited by J. W. HAMILTON (Pastor). 12mo, pp. 326. Boston: People's Church.

Just what relation this book bears to "The People's Church" does not appear, further than that the pastor of that church is its editor, and a sketch of its progress forms an Introduction. The sermons were also preached in the church. They are by Bishop Simpson, Joseph Cook, the Pastor, Revs. Phillips Brooks, J. P. Newman, J. M. Buckley, O. P. Gifford, J. O. Peck, Bishops Foster, Campbell, and Mallalieu, the Pastor, J. H. Vincent, and Dr. Townsend.

Boston Monday Lectures: Occident. With Preludes on Current Events. By JOSEPH COOK. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 382.

The annual volume (that for 1884) of the "Boston Monday Lectures" is a little tardy in its coming this year, but it is now in hand. Its form is like its predecessors, and its matter the same that was printed and scattered broadcast over the country during last winter and early spring. But there is much in the volume that will bear re-reading, and in its present form it becomes permanent, and may be widely circulated.

Lost Fairy Tales. By EDOUARD LABOULAYE, Author of "Fairy Book," etc. Authorized Translation by Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Both these stories and the pictures will afford a vast fund of innocent amusement to the young folks. None better since the days of Hans Christian Andersen, or the Grimm Brothers.

Hebrew Introduction; An Elementary Hebrew Grammar and Reading Book. By EDW. C. MITCHELL, D.D. 8vo, pp. 94 and xxxiii. Andover: Warren F. Draper.

A well-prepared and elegantly printed first book in Hebrew, concise, clear, and sufficiently comprehensive.

My Missionary Apprenticeship. By REV. J. M. THOBURN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 386. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

A personal narrative of experiences.

Our Missionary Heroes and Heroines; or. Heroic Deeds Done in Methodist Missionary Fields. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Miss Tommy. A Mediæval Romance; and In a House-Boat. A Journal. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 253. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth, $1; paper, 50 cents.

A quiet, sprightly, and instructive story of a young woman, who neither aspired to be a man nor despised those whom nature had made such. The writer says of her heroine: "She really lived about half a century ago. She was very beautiful and charming; her name was Thomasina, and she was generally called 'Miss Tommy.'" It is one of Mrs. Mulock-Craik's characteristic stories, and that fact is its sufficient recommendation.

The Voyage of the "Vivian" to the North Pole and Beyond. (Adventures of Two Youths in the Open Polar Sea.) By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Young Nimrods," etc. 8vo, pp. 297.

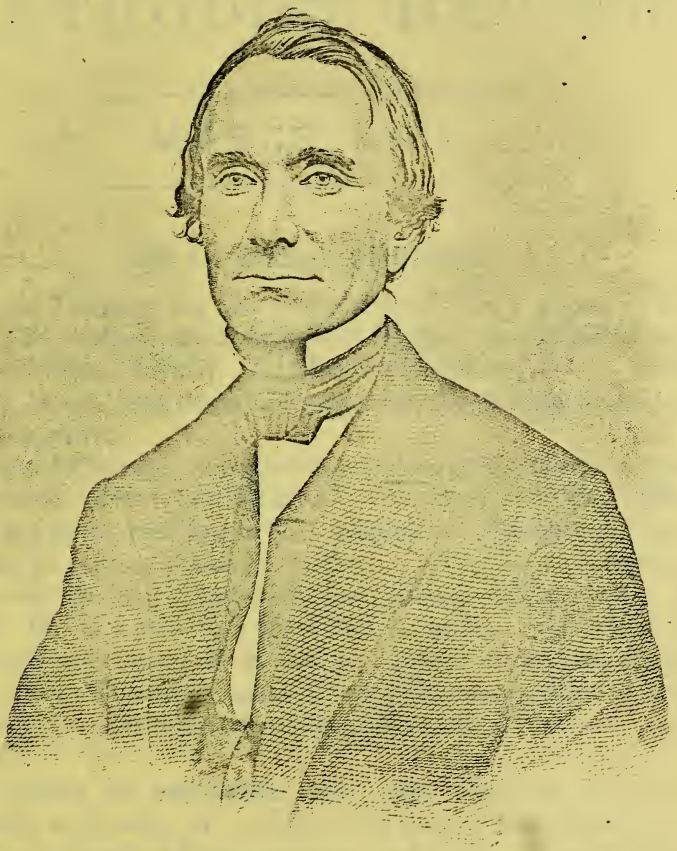
This is Mr. Knox's contribution for the year to the heroics of juvenile romance. It appears quite opportunely, just when the public mind is all awake to arctic matters. The "voyage" is, of course, fictitious, but the facts of which it is built up are chiefly real, and the fictitious matter is generally such as might be real. The boys will like it, and it will teach them much that will be valuable to them.

Universal History. The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks. By LEOPOLD VON RANKE. Edited by G. W. PROTHERO, King's College, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 494. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Only the barest skeleton of history can be given in such a work as this, and, accordingly, the author purposes to relate only the things which belong to the whole race of mankind. A little more than a hundred pages are devoted to the ancient eastern nations, (including the Jews,) and the balance of the volume treats only of the Greeks, with whom profane history really begins.

The Ice Queen. By ERNEST INGERSOLL, Author of "Friends Worth Knowing," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 256. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A sprightly story about boys and girls—for boys and girls.



E. Thomson

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1885.

ART. I.—BISHOP THOMSON.

"BISHOP THOMSON is a man of yesterday," said a prince in Israel to the writer. So is Arnold of Rugby. So the gifted and lovely Switzer, Lavater. So Chrysostom and St. John. Each graced his age, and though of yesterday, he belongs to to day and to-morrow.

Edward Thomson was called to his place in the middle of the nineteenth century, and fitted to it with singular felicity. We of to-day owe something to his "yesterday." He passed in succession to various places of distinction: Doctor of Medicine, Doctor of Divinity, Doctor of Laws, Bishop—adding luster to each. But as a jewel is a jewel still, no matter what incasings its worth calls round it, so was he superior to scalpel, bema, and miter. The simple name Edward Thomson points to that for which he was most remarkable, *the worth of his own rare nature.*

In person he was under size, never weighing over 125 pounds; so in body, as in mind, there was nothing superfluous. His form, though delicate, was erect and vital. In walking his carriage was elegant, modest, manly. To see him pass up the aisle to the rostrum, meekly as if the humblest of all his brethren, yet erect and grand as if consciously an embassador from heaven, was in itself part of a liberal education. The poise of that perfect head above erect shoulders gave a striking air of symmetry. The head was large, but so filled out and curved in outline as to seem neither round nor unduly long. There were no crags nor crannies for the hiding of over-developed faculties or the brewing of tempestuous passion—a head to

contain what we call genius, but wherein genius must never misbehave itself. Into his fine face were set a pair of sensitive nostrils the play of which was always a little prophetic of the flashes of thought that at times seemed to leap from the entire man. The eye was a bright gray, bordering on blue, sometimes hinting of brown—a vast, deep eye. It held a latent flame, which, when kindled and turned upon any hapless rogue of a student who deserved detection, was like a search-warrant, and when lit in the hour of mental excitement flashed and swept with a far reach, like the eagle's when turned toward the sun. The lines of the mouth, not small nor large, curved into that fine shape suggestive of an eagle's wings, and which is never the gate-way for the utterances of a small soul. His voice was light but fine, and of great flexibility; less a tenor than that of Simpson, less metallic than that of Wendell Phillips, but more musical than either.

When this small man stood before a throng—the more select the more complete his control—sweeping over it the forces of his mighty spirit, men would bow before him as trees in a storm, or rise from their seats by a common impulse,—an event that occurred in several notable instances. Then would his small stature seem transfigured to the towering dimensions of his soul, and he stood ranking with such as Watts, Wesley, Knox, and Paul, his brotherhood of gigantic spirits in petit forms.

Thomson's life was given mainly to his Church, but his nature was larger than a denomination's lines. As Payson was wider than Congregationalism, Edwards than Presbyterianism, Stanley than English Churchism, so Thomson's nature reached the communion of saints and the brotherhood of man. He died fourteen years ago. A singular tardiness has held the pen of the biographer, an unaccountable silence has hung over his tomb. Meager, indeed, are the records of his worth. The great Cyclopedia bearing the name of his illustrious compeer M'Clintock devotes to him but a very brief space, scarcely worthy the fame of many an exhorter! Does it not reflect upon the men he educated and the Church he ornamented that this silence has hung over his name and the riches of his unpublished writings more than a dozen years? Perhaps a timid sense of inadequacy for so rare a task has held others back, as the writer has found himself held from even this humble attempt. Men

are slow to undertake the embodiment of ideals too fine to be cut in marble or thrown on canvas, and when partially delineated, too rare to be seen by a world too distant or dim-eyed to catch the vision. Those who knew Thomson best are sure he cannot be reported.

Years ago Judge Nott, now of Colorado, said to the writer:

> Why not prepare a lecture for the inspiration of young men, on Edward Thomson? I saw him but once: he came to M'Kendree College to lecture on Hugh Latimer. He also talked to us in chapel. As a boy I was strangely overcome. He *was to me a new sort of man.*

This furnished the germ. Afterward Dr. Whedon wrote me:

> I am glad to know you are doing something to honor the memory of our late beloved Bishop Thomson. The lovely spirit and brilliant genius of that memorable man should be kept fresh in the memory of the Church.

Rev. Mr. Daniels says, in his "History of Methodism:"

> There were doubtless weak places in him, since he was a mortal man; but neither his pupils, his parishioners, nor his subordinates in the ministry seem to have been able to discover them.

Dr. Townsend, of Boston Theological Seminary, writes me:

> I regard him as one of the purest minds in the history of the Church, and one of its strongest and clearest thinkers. For loftiness and clearness of conception, and for purity and simplicity of expression, Bishop Thomson has had no superior, if equal, in the Methodist Connection.

A deliberate statement from very high authority.

Dr. Warren, president of the same University, also writes, in a private letter concerning a course of lectures:

> In those days Boston was favored with an unusual number of lecture courses on moral and religious subjects, but it would be hard to instance a single one which, in combined sweetness and strength, in force of argument and in beauty, clearness, and pregnancy of style, could be considered the equal of Bishop Thomson's. A memorial of his life, character, and work should long ago have been given to the world.

President Eliot, of Harvard, having attended those lectures, remarked that he "knew of no man who used the English language more faultlessly than Bishop Thomson." A notable concession from one so little in sympathy with the trend of the lectures.

William Morley Punshon, with his power to penetrate character and his genius for lofty and accurate utterances, in eulogy on our dead before the General Conference of 1872, exclaimed:

> Thomson, the Chrysostom of your Church, of golden speech and golden value; whose large, child-like spirit could not harbor a thought of guile, and who seemed ever as if detained on earth by slight and trembling tendrils!

Carlyle says, in sarcasm on fashionable biography: "Your true hero must have no features, but must be a white, stainless, impersonal ghost-hero." Then adds, of true biography: "They that crowd about bonfires may get their beards singed. It is the price of illumination." Alas for Carlyle's beard at Froude's bonfire, made of private letters from the garret!

We might shrink from illuminating Edward Thomson with pine knots, whose smoke makes shadows, but in the presence of these, among the very head-lights of the times, there is no risk to him. Turn on the electric light! Bring your solar microscope! The stronger the light the better shows the man. Few places in the world furnish a severer ordeal than the keen intellects and moral sensitiveness of such literary centers as Delaware. But nowhere else would we more gladly challenge admiration than where he spent fourteen years of splendid, transparent life.

But he was early appreciated outside of Ohio. In his 26th year he was pastor in Detroit. One describing his ministry says:

> He drew many of the most influential families, and among them Governor Cass. The audience was frequently entranced by the magic of that indefinable power we call eloquence, and in a few instances they were lifted quite beyond the regions of sense, and with them the speaker was carried by an uncontrollable inspiration out of himself, and seemed only the passive instrument through which a higher—a divine—power was pouring words and thoughts and feelings and bursts of electric sympathies, till speaker and audience together, spell-bound in each other's embrace, seemed sweeping upward to the highest heavens.

On one occasion, during a temperance agitation, when the debates of the Legislature were carried round among the churches of Detroit, and both sides were publicly advocated, Thomson was speaking. Unexpectedly the whole audience rose to their feet.

Nor did this popularity make him vain, though so young. Once in that city his heart sank, and, like Moses and Elijah before him, he desired to abandon his work. That is usually an indifferent life in which there is no juniper-tree. There are not to such many Horebs, parting Jordans, and chariots of fire. Thomson was on his way to give up the key and go home. At the sexton's door he overheard the voice of prayer. It was a plea for the young pastor. His heart smote him. He cried, "God forgive me for shrinking while thy servant so pleads!" He abandoned his purpose. Blessed be the Aarons and Hurs of the belfry!

Michigan offered him her highest honor. When founding her University, which has won high rank at Heidelberg and Oxford, she called Edward Thomson to its presidency. But fortunately for Methodism he was already inaugurated at Delaware, and preferred his own Church and his conscience, with half the salary, to the honor of presiding at Ann Arbor.

If Gotham, on Manhattan Island, with her "bosses" and ships, had too much dust in her eyes to see this pure spirit, though for years amid her din; if Baltimore, with her tobacco and oysters, was slow to hear the eloquence of this rare orator; if Chicago, with her pork and emigrant trains, did seem scarcely competent to recognize this son of light—so Jerusalem, with her priests and Pharisees—so Rome, with her Cesars, gladiators, and bacchanals—received not him who had been caught up to Paradise, and there heard words that it was not possible for a man to utter.

Edward Thomson was born on the Isle of Man, Oct. 10, 1810. He spent the first nine years of life in that pent-up island a sickly child. The family emigrated to the wonderful "West," of which the little boy was forming visions as he hung on his father's chair-back, listening to the reports and growing schemes of the household. On the voyage the ship was run down by a pirate and overhauled. The Thomsons might have walked the plank, and so, missing the American, reached too soon the eternal, shore. But the pirate captain finding among the captured crew a brother, and "blood being thicker than water," it floated them on to America and to us. They settled at Wooster, Ohio, and were thus unconsciously preparing the richest endowment ever made to the Ohio Wesleyan University.

His first ten years in the New World were spent partly in the limited school advantages about him, and then in the medical department of the University of Pennsylania. He then spent a year as physician in Jeromeville, Ohio; six years in the itinerant ministry; six years principal of Norwalk Seminary, Ohio; two years editor of "Ladies' Repository," where he challenged attention even outside his denomination as a writer of rare force and beauty; fourteen years (from 1846 to 1860) as president of Ohio Wesleyan University—years to him of life's greatest harmony and power, and from which there was but one way to move higher, and that was heavenward; four years (from 1860 to 1864) editor of "The Christian Advocate," a sphere he ornamented but never enjoyed. The misunderstandings and strifes of the impending rebellion drew upon him for what he possessed in almost limitless measure—the love of a John and the courage of a Paul.

Elected Bishop on the first ballot in 1864, he began his closing career by going as first of his colleagues round the world, to look with his seer-like eyes upon the great parish of John Wesley. Though sick and sad, he gave two volumes of wonderful grasp, and fairly prophetic in their pictures of the future. They were left cruder in form than was his wont, but it was because he was wearying for his long rest, in which he laid him down at Wheeling, in March, 1870. His age was 60 when, with such a constellation as Kingsley, Clark, M'Clintock, at nearly the same time, he left our sky for the upper heavens.

Who then was Edward Thomson? By what measures shall we estimate him? He died a Bishop in the most numerous Church communion on earth. But above that was his fitness for the scepter of intellectual leadership as a quickening educator; and above that still, and outside of all functional views, was the rarity of his nature.

Entering more within his nature, the first quality arresting attention was his *guileless purity, very child-like*, a quality often associated with greatness. To say he was saintly does not well describe him. That savors of the sacerdotal; of this Thomson had none. He has been compared to Fletcher of Madeley. But Fletcher was mystical; Thomson was not. Nothing of cell or cowl for him. His was an ear for the world's harmonies, an eye for its lights, a hand for its strifes.

His heart beat with the pulse of the age. His the broad earth and wide heaven. His soul plumed itself on the heights, and spread its wings into the boundless. *But those wings were white.*

This purity was the hiding of his power, reaching farther than he knew. When traveling in Switzerland with a friend to whom he had become greatly attached in travel, they discussed the feasibility of visiting Chamouni and seeing Mont Blanc. Whose eyes could have so feasted on that heart of Swiss scenery, or so wondered at that great white throne of grandeur, as could his? But to do so, complete his business plans, and reach Paris and the sea, he must travel on Sunday. He decided to miss Chamouni. His friend saw Mont Blanc, but never saw his home. He traveled on Sunday, reached the ship, and the ship reached the bottom of the Atlantic. Thomson missed the sight and the ship and the depth, but held his grasp on his young men. The lesson of that tender conscience followed, and fell on the thrilled hearts of four hundred of them in burning words from the lips of Professor M'Cabe. It had gathered momentum by its birth amid the distant Swiss mountains and the leagues of intervening ocean.

This pervading purity of nature, hid nowhere, is under focal rays when surrounded by pupils with penetrating young eyes. Every teacher is weighed in accurate balances, and the false character is as sure of detection as was Belshazzar. Pureness reaches farther than precepts, rules, laws, or faculty votes.

Edward Thomson could be a fine detective. That small frame, carrying round its apparently abstracted soul, was more effective than a sheriff's posse. Woe betide the student in a trial of wits! But his government made little show of its presence. It was *felt*, but scarcely seen. He could reach the hidden in character and the nameless in conduct. He spoke on secret vice, and with word and look and gesture would tear aside the veil, and guilt would shudder as if some angel of light were present. His eye one day caught sight of a vile sentence written where innocent eyes might read and be contaminated. He rebuked it openly with a sarcasm and recoil of abhorrence that curled on his lips, and flamed from his eye so terribly as to bring blushes to innocent cheeks, and must have scared the culprit into longing for a hiding place.

He could stand before his mixed audiences on Sunday, com-

posed of the refinement of college and city, and preach on Jezebel, or the perils of her door, which is hell's mouth, with no more taint of indelicacy than was in the rebuke of Him who sent away all accusers by writing on the ground and giving permission to the guiltless to cast the first stone. In a public rebuke of disorderly conduct he has been known to so lay bare the conscience as to bring tears of repentance, to be followed by real reformation. He could and did quell a rebellion in one flash of a brilliant, witty, overmastering sentence. A daring student was publicly expelled. He was a hero and a leader, and the university young. As he retired from the sentence there was a burst of applause. Next morning the president said: "There is doubt whether the applause was for the verdict or the offender. If for the latter, rise up; if the former, remain seated." By that time they were cool, and remained seated in approval of the verdict.

A circus was coming. Instead of advertising it by a warning, he simply said, in a casual way: "They who attend circuses are either green or depraved." My seat-mate winced under the points of both horns of the dilemma, and was finally gored by the latter.

A depredation on the bell had been perpetrated, the rogue leaving his pocket-knife on the scene. The doctor simply alluded to it, and said: "The knife is here; the owner can come forward and claim it." Tantalizing clew! what if it should let out the secret!

These merry traits show that his purity was not frigid. It did not repel the warm heart of youth. He knew what is in man when struck by Cupid's arrow—a crisis when most educators are powerless, if not indifferent. Even parents abandon their children to youth's heated fancy, or the crude if not vicious leadership of writers of romance.

I hate the name of "college widow," relict of unguided folly, or heartless recklessness and cruelty. Percival's lines are not inapt in college towns:

> "I saw on a lonely mountain height
> A gem that shone like fire by night;
> I climbed the peak, and found it soon
> A lump of ice in the clear, cold moon.
> Wouldst thou its hidden sense impart?—
> 'Twas a cheerful look and a broken heart."

Many a witty, wise maxim fell from his lips, showing that he was an elder brother.

Call seldom at the seminary. Paul says, "Let your moderation be known to all men," and, let us add, women, too.

Beware of the grace-hoop [a game then in vogue], lest it fall about your neck. The freshman's beloved is often the senior's despised.

In those days, writing from Europe, he analyzed the nations on this basis:

I wish advice, . . . a serious matter—getting married. Is it best? . . . Nobody in particular. . . . Marrying in the abstract. That is *young Germany.*

No use to deny me or run from me—where you go I will go, where you stop I will stop, . . . where you die I will die, where you are buried I will be buried.—*Young Ireland.*

Zounds! I love her, and I will have her if I have to swim the river for her.—*Young America.*

Worth three thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pounds six shillings and fourpence halfpenny, which, under the circumstances, is not quite sufficient.—*Young England.*

When young people read such from his pen, and heard him embellish his lectures with such sentiment as the "Irishman's Lament,"

"I'm sitting on the stile, Mary,
Where we sat side by side,
'Mid the bright May morn
And the springing corn,
When first you were my bride,"

they welcomed him into the holy of holies of their hearts, as a mitered priest, wise, reverent, and stainless.

This purity of character had a delicacy of grain which was natural, but its renewal and completion *was the fruit of the Spirit.* Ere he was twenty he was a member of a skeptical club which undertook to traverse and disprove Christianity. Thomson grew serious in the appalling work, as candid skeptics do. Unrest led him to the village prayer-meeting, reminding us of the little groups where young Nast was led to light, where Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed," and where tent-makers turned the learned Apollos into an apostle. The preaching of Russel Bigelow, whom he afterward declared filled the same place in the Western pulpit as Henry Clay filled on the political stump, took mighty hold on his whole nature.

His awakening culminated in a suggestive manner. Even the greatest men are converted through the heart. Cowper was convinced of sin by stumbling over an exhumed skull in Westminster yard. Martin Luther was shaken with conviction by bereavement, sickness, and lightning. Wiclif's conversion was hastened by the plague's approach. Thomson, alone in his office, saw a friend instantly killed by a falling beam of timber. He fell on his knees. God gave him a new heart. His conversion was so thorough as to sweep the scent of tobacco from his breath and tainted speech from his lips. The Holy Spirit led him into the ministry, using largely the advice of his pastor, the talented but eccentric Harry O. Sheldon. Here is his own description of its beginnings:

> I made my trial of the itinerancy, accompanying the preacher on one side of the circuit, and the assistant on the other. It was spring-time, and never did dew-drops seem so pure or dawn so holy. Here I first learned to study the Bible by the rising sun, and kneel alone in the solemn forest under his setting beams. Sweet counsel did we take by the road-side and at the hearthstone, to where a generous hospitality made every comfort free as the mountain spring.
>
> Going with moistened eyes from the thicket, our hearts often cheered us, as when we approached the cabin or school-house or the barn we heard the waiting congregation singing,
>
> "Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone."
>
> Entering, saddlebags in hand, we often felt a new commission as we drew forth the pocket Bible and preached the unsearchable riches of Christ on puncheon floors or on the green grass, while the sinner cried as his heart was touched, the penitent rose happy as the bird when it follows the sunbeam over the hills after the morning shower, and the saints made the forests, as they retired to their homes, ring with halleluiahs.
>
> But I saw afterward its shades as well as its lights—sometimes kindly received, sometimes bluntly; now shivering through the night, now nearly smothered between two feather-beds; now sinking to quiet slumbers in the rich man's down, now stung through the night by mosquitoes in the poor man's milk-house. I received seventy-five dollars for my first year's labor, and shortly after gave fifty dollars to the first Methodist seminary in Ohio.

Here he touches his greatest life-work. His coming, how timely! The great Republic, now numbering fifty millions, was then educationally crude. The few who had brought collegiate traditions from Europe had passed away from the West.

Harvard and Yale were too remote to attract the sons of our log-cabins. The ax and the plow were awaking the soil. The stage-coach and canal were beginning to carry a dawning commerce. Our sturdy Methodism cared little for education while the forest was in the way. There was great danger of a stolid, stupid, or avaricious nation; danger of a Church unarmed for the intellectual strifes floating from Europe, and the hordes of heathenism certain to come as a cloud from across the Pacific, or the unbelief sure to spring up in our midst.

At the critical time came Edward Thomson, prepared, none can tell how, but endowed and fairly inspired to fill this divine call. His inaugural address at the opening of the Ohio Wesleyan University thrilled along the lines of the Church as a bugle-blast. It found, as many can still testify, hundreds of youth ambitious but aimless. Henceforth there were before them new worlds to conquer. There is something in its pictures, and chiefly in that of the graduation of the widow's son, irresistible to any with a spark of true enthusiasm. That lecture will vie with the glorious spring on the campus in value as a cause of existence of the University. Whoever finds a youth aimless, but of good parts, can hardly find a better way to start him up a shining track than to induce him to read that, or any other of Thomson's Educational Essays.

He displayed a genius for scholarship. It is said he could, without apparent preparation, conduct a recitation at a moment's notice in any department. But his chief power was in stirring the mind as a lecturer. He could infix a philosophy for life by a paragraph. He would reverse the soul's course by a sentence of comment, a mode of reading the chapel lesson, or his beautiful and heavenward prayers. His preaching was logical and lucid. The judgment was satisfied. But conviction was wrought by his personality, which winnowed the conscience and made visible the impassable gulf. Unconsciously he has described himself in one of his lectures, in a passage more than once quoted, even without credit, by famous men.

> The Christian rises side by side with the philosopher into the starry heavens. They tread foot to foot the zodiac round. Together their souls expand and burn, and wonder and adore; and here the Christian bows to his learned companion and leaves him

in the milky way, and on the wings of faith ascends to the upper skies, enters the paradise of God, soars through fields of light, and surveys the mansions of the blest. He mingles with the blood-washed throng, and repeats their halleluiahs. He bows at the altars where saints perfected worship, and enters the chapels where angels sing. He soars to the heaven of heavens, sees God the Father, Jesus his Son, and God the Holy Spirit; and, lifting his eyes upward, he cries, This is thy throne, dear Father, and these are my native skies.

A citizen of the world and a brother of mankind, nothing good or true in the race was foreign to him. His own description of a visit to Westminster Abbey affords an illustration. While moving amid its statuary and grandeur, the bell called to worship. He sat down on one of the plain forms. One would imagine, from his having grown amid the simplicity of western Methodism, that he was out of sympathy with his surroundings; but his soul was too great for that. He says:

> The gorgeous building, the solemn associations, the monuments of the dead, the multitude of the living, the chanting of the choir, the notes of the organ, the grand current of liturgical thought, on which my soul was willingly borne, were too much for me. I seemed to sit in the mouth of the world's sepulcher, while the reanimated dead were chanting themselves up to the resurrection morning. The tears stole down my cheeks, and but for a strong effort of will I might have fainted.

Who that has ever felt the solemn stillness and grandeur of that Valhalla of England's greatness, and then sought amid the best utterances of her most gifted sons for adequate descriptions, has ever found a sentence so deep in feeling and so comprehensive of grasp as this, from the small, humble, western minister? I know of none. Yet it was but a passage for a newspaper letter. So, too, was his description of that cosmopolitan wonder and symbol of England's greatness, the British Museum; while his "London Tower" surpasses in historic grasp and rhythm of diction that of Macaulay. Read his "Tunnel of the Thames," or his "Tomb of the Taj," and he will astound you with strange nomenclature, overwhelm you with mathematics, startle you with their significance, and charm you with his simple rhetoric, while the wonder is how this small, abstract man, partly deaf, whose overcoat the thief would steal, and who often lost his railway ticket, could find out what old travelers never knew.

This breadth of nature included the extremes of humanity. Peter Cartwright was as distant from Edward Thomson as men can be to belong to the kingdom of heaven together. But when the fiftieth anniversary of Cartwright's ministry came round, Thomson was his admired guest, and no words spoken there were so adequate as a tribute to that sturdy son of thunder as were his. It was like lightning playing about a granite peak. Himself has said:

> Dean Swift declares: "I hate mankind, though I love a few individuals, as Peter, James, and John." Pope replied: "I love human nature, but hate individuals." Warburton: "We must have grace not to hate both." We have no sympathy with such philosophers, but admitting all mankind to a participation in our blessings, we learn to respect and love all; as General Taylor says, "The world and the *rest of mankind.*"

Though so broad in sympathy, he was not too vague to be a *patriot*, a quality ever impressed upon his students. In his times the Supervisor was wont to come with his summons to students' rooms, warning them to work out their road-tax—it was difficult to decide whether in earnest or in jest; but the students mostly took the latter view. The president's appeal to young patriotism, on one occasion, made it dreadfully uncomfortable, and—tell it not in Gath—some actually shouldered the mattock and the spade.

It may relieve us from the ceaseless strain of eulogy to turn to the single case found against him in all our researches. In the old Minutes of the Michigan Conference is the following record:

> *Tiffin, Ohio*, Sept. 11, 1838.— *Whereas*, There has been, and still is, much excitement in the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of abolitionism; and, *whereas*, we believe such excitement is prejudicial to the interests of the Church; therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the members of this Conference to refrain from agitating the subject by forming abolition societies in or out of the Church, or by attending Methodist abolition conventions. . . . And preachers who do should be dealt with accordingly. Signed, HENRY COLCLAZER,
> E. THOMSON.

Bishop Waugh was in the chair. E. Thomson was Secretary. This record was, at first, astounding, and contrasts strangely with the assertion in College Chapel, in after years, that he would not obey the fugitive slave law, but suffer its

sorest penalty whenever summoned; and with his almost superhuman arraignment before the General Conference and elsewhere of this "sum of all villainies."

This record recalls other facts. Wiclif was at the start an incipient monk. John Knox began as a priest. John Wesley narrowly escaped asceticism. Edward Thomson was a conservative. The best minds are conservative toward men when most radical concerning right. The agitator is often the gentlest of men personally, and the grip of iron has a womanly tenderness. The Druids' rock stood against a hundred men, but rocked at a child's touch.

The days of that minute were days of confusion. (Another is found there against ministers swapping horses.) Two ideas were intertwined. They separated, parted, and met at last at Appomattox at opposite ends of a sword surrendered over a "lost cause"—a cause turned under by the plowshare of war.

Thomson had a filial heart. "Lay me down," said he, "when I die, where I may see my mother's face." Once that mother came down to Delaware, and the "Immortal Doctor" could be seen with her leaning on his arm, bearing her proudly about the campus as if that plain, good woman were a queen. No doubt many a toiling mother was happier the next vacation and through life for that example in the ideal man. Garfield's lips touched his mother's brow on inauguration day, and it was heard the world round. When our college president made glad his mother's heart before the sons, it set the widow's heart in tune for a generation.

His fondness for home, wife, and children was tender, delicate, and charming. A wood-saw was glorified in my eyes after seeing one in his hands driven through a billet of oak. Grief has never appeared unmanly in the light of his example. Four of his students carried as tenderly as could be the dust of his first-born to rest. Dr. Greeley, the pastor, with Irish brogue and delicate tact, quoted the language of Otway Curry, friend and companion spirit of Thomson, of whom he wrote an appreciative memento:

"When through the nameless ages
I cast my longing eyes,
Before me, like a boundless sea,
The great hereafter lies."

This re-appears in one of his volumes, thus:

Time may allay your feelings, but you will go in the bitterness of your soul all your years; and when your dying eye is closed, you will open your mental eye in the eternal world and say, "O, my daughter, where art thou?"

When leaving his home in Evanston on his last journey, he returned a distance of a hundred miles. For this his only explanation was, that he might get a better good-bye. It reminds us of Bishop Gilbert Haven, whose great heart, consumed with longings in the heat of battle, said: "When I go to heaven I will lay my head to rest in my wife's lap for a thousand years."

He had a merry heart. His wit and humor were as sparkling as his oratory was brilliant. When abroad to purchase a library for the University, it was at a time when Americans were less known and more often snubbed than now, especially by Englishmen. One of them questioned our having any mineral resources. Thomson replied:

"We have a mine called the Illinois Coal-bed, running through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. We shall scoop out a little, and if you will bring your island over and put it in, so annex you."

"You have but little machinery?"

"*Machinery?* We have all you have, and one which is run by force of circumstances."

"What is that?"

"One such machine is now talking to you."

"You have no nobility in America."

Thomson drew up his five feet five of slight manhood to its full height, and with his profoundest bow, replied:

"You are now conversing with one of the royal family of the United States of America."

This readiness became at times a terrible weapon. Woe betide the college rebel whom it smote! Like as the stroke of the blade of fable, off came his head, he knew not how.

He was no jocular monopolist. He relished the wit of others, and it took its place in his mental store-house, ready for orders. With keenest zest he reported the Irishman's retort, who was showing him the skull of Saint Peter. Having seen one in Rome, he asked Mike to explain the difference in size. "O, your riverence, this is his skull when but a boy."

He could laugh at himself, and on account of his frequent abstraction was sometimes a fine subject. It is said, that on leaving the recitation room he has been known to put his hat under his arm and his book on his head. I saw him at my fireside ready to go and deliver his great Centennial Sermon. One foot was dressed in a stocking and shoe, the other with only the shoe, and low cut at that. But for his wife, our angel had gone half barefoot that day. It is said his wife, taking his arm to return from church, was assured that her "face was familiar, but he could not recall her name."

His abstractions were never vexatious. His politeness was genuine and perennial. You forgave him though he failed to recognize you, because certain he meant no disrespect. So universal was his politeness, that it was a college saying that he bade the cows each a polite good-morning as he passed them in the street.

His nature was magnetic. This was "personal," but of an order higher and wider than usually belongs to that quality. Napoleon never imbued men with his military heroism more fully than Thomson transfused his magnetic intellectual and moral qualities into young men. It was well-nigh universal and irresistible. In "anti-Nebraska" days, the clergy of New England petitioned Congress against the encroachment of slavery. Thomson seized the occasion to give a Sunday lecture on "The Pulpit and Politics." The students called for it in pamphlet form. The "Ohio Statesman," published at Columbus, made a fierce attack on the lecture and its author. Two literary societies had invited the editor, S. S. Cox, to deliver the address before them at the approaching Commencement. The attack aroused them. After two sessions, lasting till midnight, they rescinded the invitation. The eloquent and adroit Cox would have found it dangerous to touch the man of whom, in those heated sessions, an alumnus who came in to share the strife, said: "We will never brook the slightest affront to that man, who is as meek as Moses and as eloquent as Paul."

He belonged to an order of educators who come seldom, such as Arnold of Rugby, Wilbur Fisk, Mark Hopkins, but he was more brilliant and magnetic than any. Garfield said, "Give me a bench. Let Dr. Hopkins sit on one end and me on the

other, and I ask for no better university." Such was Thomson without the bench, for the bench would come to him, and the students crowd it. It was a rare faculty round him in those brave days of old,—smaller and less equipped than now, but harmonious and compact as a chariot-wheel,—in its unity furnishing by far the best factor of a college; aggregating a magnificent combination of ideal manhood. As its head, he was leader of an intellectual host. We should never have sacrificed him until our educational Israel had learned in him to discriminate between a college *drummer* and a college *president*.

By reason of splendid management since his time, the Ohio Wesleyan University is not hard to find. But as men long inquired, not so much for Williams as Hopkins, not for Yale but Woolsey, and now Princeton is better seen by the towering head of M'Cosh, so, had his life been spent here, must this intellectual Mecca have been called after Thomson.

Men come in corps. In Florence, came together Ghirlandajo, Leonardo, and Michael Angelo. In England, came near together Milton, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Addison, Butler. In Germany, Kant, Lessing, Neander, Goethe, Schiller. In the same age and rank Coleridge, Campbell, Carlyle, Cuvier, Legendre, Laplace. Was it not God's design to give a corps of kindred minds to Thomson's times? Is there no Rachel's voice "weeping for her children *because they are not?*"

Is there no exaggeration of the importance of our episcopal miter? Have we not used it again and again, as the French use the guillotine, to behead colleges? Let us hope the folly so conspicuous in Thomson's case may sober us into harmony not only with the new "rubric," but the whole genius of our Church. Bishop timber is abundant. Trees for such college presidents grow one or two in a century.

Edward Thomson was a brilliant ornament to the episcopacy in some of its best functions. His heroism was Pauline. His prudence cared for every interest but his own. But his Oriental tour killed him. While on the Indian Ocean he inhaled the infected air of an opium vessel. Before that, while on the Red Sea—he related it with pathetic humor—he made up his mind to "join Pharoah and his host." The two volumes written from his journal kept on that tour have an undertone of sad weariness. When he reaches Dr. Maclay's

home in China, it is, as he says, "weary, wan, and ghost-like, twenty thousand miles from home." He "leans his head against the wall, and silent tears steal down his wan cheeks."

Too ill to see the Holy Land, he "sails by the shore with unspeakable sorrow." At Constantinople he can only "look from his sick pillow at its minarets," though even then he pens lines which forecast the future of Europe, and the fate of the false faiths of the East. True, he came home again, while the sturdy Kingsley laid him down to sleep at Lebanon's base, and Haven, with all his ruddy bloom, fell at last of African fever. Yet Thomson only occasionally burst into the blaze of his former splendors. The "iron wheel" was too much for his texture, as it threw him round a circuit that year of forty thousand miles, he meanwhile attempting to regulate its power, so affecting to itinerant families and churches, for all of whom he suffered much, vicariously. It was too ponderous for his fine nature. It was like an angel at a drive-wheel. God gives us men to whose touch it answers with mighty rhythm. But reverence did not check Ezekiel's cry when he saw the wheel of vision. As we look on Thomson, and then on what racked him, we too can but cry, "O, wheel!" When he died, there seemed a tone of self-reproach in the sorrow of the Church. It was fit there should be heart-searching. All felt the force of that fine lament of one of his successors, when he cried, "We ne'er shall see his like again!"

We here touch the inscrutable. His powers may find better play in the unseen world than here; but heaven is rich, and earth would seem to be too poor to rob herself so soon.

As author, his career was more largely potential than actual. A cutting shows the grain of a gem. Pollok's "Course of Time," Kirk White's "Star of Bethlehem," Thomson's "Close Thought," are such cuttings. What if his life had not been deflected from its course till now! Addison nor Irving ever wrote a purer English, and both with less force and fire. Count the monosyllables in one of his pages, and it is doubtful if you will find so many on any other outside the New Testament. Why are his essays not more in the hands of our youth? Is it because they bear our denominational imprint? It is something that duplicate copies of his writings must be kept in the library of the Ohio Wesleyan University to supply the demand

of readers, and that they must be oftener rebound than any other volumes in the collection.

He had great versatility. He delivered two lectures before the California Conference some years ago. Men who had lived for a dozen years on the Pacific slope were amazed at the wonders of their country never before thought of. The attention of scholars and civil officers was arrested by their accuracy. How he prepared them, no one knew; the only account his wife could give was, that "they were composed while riding over the plains and mountains in the stage-coach."

At Constantinople, too ill to go ashore, he wrote a chapter, ten years in advance, depicting the outcome as it occurred at the Berlin Congress under the dictation of Bismarck and Disraeli.

There are no so-called poems from his pen. But the blood of the English poet Thomson ran in his veins, and diffused a poetic fire through his prose. A friend watched by his bed during a fever. One night he dreamed of controversy with an angel, who arraigned our race for meanness. Thomson, as spokesman, answered in verse, some of which he repeated when awake. One stanza ran thus:

> "I am too an angel made,
> And round this head a sphere is laid
> Which is not less than heaven."

There is no *volume* from him on *systematic divinity*, unless there be among his unpublished writings. But his lectures on "Evidences" show that he had power to answer *skepticism* and to *fascinate* into faith with his subtle reason and clear diction. He never wrote out an elaborate argument after the manner of "Butler's Analogy." But the boys often longed for a "translation of Butler by Thomson." Had he turned his hand to such work as a "History of Rationalism," so charmingly accomplished by another mitered college head, he could have made that track blaze. Had he entered the field where Raymond has gone shining through, or where Cocker's stalwart form has marched, there too he could have excelled. His intellect was at home with such minds as Kant, Sir William Hamilton, and Plato. They did not go beyond his depth nor above his flight. And if there be any finer quality to such minds as Emerson, Carlyle, and Goethe, he could look them in the eye even

measure, for rather to that rank was he born. At times the trend of his thought, the far sweep of his vision, and the track of light on which he leaves our lower heavens, suggest the question, which of the prophets had he been if he had lived in Bible times—Elijah, Paul, or John?

When fifty years of age he was called from his presidency, and his studies amid academic scenes, to sit four years on a tripod, like an angel tending a spit. Six years more he went round with the great "wheel." Fifty and four and six are sixty. Then he left us for the upper skies fourteen years ago.

It is four and thirty years since the current of his life was turned. His associates in the faculty are all still alive. The world is growing richer from their ripened wisdom. What if Thomson had been here to fulfill the promise of his early years during this quarter century? Within that time of life most great men do their best for the world. Before his great career began, the Duke of Marlborough had come to an age when most men retire. But that finished the dread of the French armies and of Louis XIV. at Blenheim. Von Moltke went into Paris to see the final downfall of the Napoleons behind a white beard. Michael Angelo spanned St. Peter's with its heaven-like dome after his eightieth year. Within the same last stage of life Asbury, Wesley, Humboldt, Herschel, Grotius, Dorner, Neander, Bryant, Emerson, and Longfellow have given their golden harvest to the world. The last named, with genius enriched by years, has well sung:

"Nothing is too late
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.
Cato learned Greek at eighty,
Sophocles wrote his grand Œdipus,
And Simonides bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,
When each had numbered more than fourscore years.
And Theophrastes at fourscore and ten
Had but begun his characters of men.
Chaucer at Woodstock, with the nightingales,
At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales.
Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,
Completed Faust when eighty years were past."

When men cross voluntarily an imaginary "dead line," it partakes of cowardice or suicide. When we *send* them over, it is murder. Let us have no dead line, which God never drew!

The last catastrophe had been coming on since the sickness

on the Red Sea. Never did the pallor, which then settled on his face, leave it. Too self-forgetful and too considerate of others, his weakness revealed itself only to his intimates. In the spring of 1870 he left his home in Evanston to attend the Kentucky and Virginia Conferences. On the steamer for Wheeling he was taken with a chill. He was promptly removed from the boat to the Grant House. The proprietors and alarmed friends did all that was possible to rescue his life and then to solace his dying. He rapidly sank, and after five days died, ere his family, alarmed by a telegram, could reach him. It is said that a telegram was delayed, by his desire, to keep the Sabbath day holy.

The remains were carried to Delaware and laid in the church where his eloquence and sanctity had done so much to awaken the young university into life. Friends and faculty, students and citizens, were one in their grief. Among others came the blacks in groups, mournfully and softly, looking into the beautiful classic features of him whose lips had so eloquently pleaded the cause of their race.

A year later this writer, a transient guest at the Grant House, Wheeling, was assigned the room in which he died. Here were the walls which heard his dying words. Here was the Bible from which, by his request, were read to him those words: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death." Here were realized the words of his poet friend Curry, so dear to him:

> "In the far-off haven,
> When shadowy seas are past,
> By angel hands its quivering sails
> Shall all be furled at last."

Shortly before him Kingsley had gone from the foot of Lebanon in a foreign land—each from a stranger's couch. And not very long afterward the last survivor of the three together chosen and consecrated to the episcopacy, Dr. Clark, was united with his colleagues in the "general assembly and church of the first-born." They were lovely in life, and in their death they were not long divided.

Art. II.—THE FRANCO-CHINESE IMBROGLIO.

Tonkin; or, "France in the Far East." By C. B. Norman, late Captain Bengal Staff Corps and 90th Light Infantry. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

Tungking. By William Mesny, Major-General in the Imperial Chinese Army. London: Sampson, Low & Co. 1884.

Les Francais au Tonkin, 1787–1883. Hippolyte Gautier. Paris: Challamel Aîné. 1884.

France and China are not, geographically, more antipodal on the surface of the round world than are the first and third of the volumes above enumerated. The French view is, of course, rose-colored; the British green, with more than occasional ebullitions of national spite and jealousy. Both volumes cover the hundred years of French negotiations and occupation in Further India. Recent events have called the attention of the world to this remote and hitherto obscure quarter of the globe. In his Preface, written at the close of 1883, Captain Norman says: "Within the last few months France has been deluged by a shower of books bearing on the Tonkin question." After having "perused almost every scrap of writing that has appeared on the subject," the captain has embodied, in a volume of three hundred and fifty pages, the "true history of the Tonkin question," and, that he "may not be accused of garbled translations," has given the "actual text of all his authorities," making his book about one fourth French, in dress, thereby improving its quality with those who understand the Gallic tongue, but lessening its value with all other readers.

As we write, no work has yet appeared on the Tonkin matter in this hemisphere, and only straggling copies of those published abroad have found their way to our book-stores and public libraries. Paragraphs in news columns, of telegramic brevity, have chronicled the movements of the French navy in the waters of the far East; and it has been known, as part of the current intelligence of the times, that France had dispute and conflict with some semi-civilized Asiatic tribes, but exactly what, or where, has been of too little interest to excite special curiosity or to enlist sustained attention. In August last the thunders of a naval bombardment that annihilated one fourth of the floating armament of China in ten minutes, in front of the arsenal in the river Min, aroused a general inquiry as to

what all this noise and fire and destructive demonstration was about. We propose to answer this question by drawing freely from the works named above, and adding thereto items of personal knowledge of the situation in the East, and information gathered from all available quarters.

The strife, an old and chronic one among the nations, had for its origin rivalry in a "land-grab." Let us first repair to the territory in dispute. A glance at the map of Asia shows that that mighty continent terminates on the south in three immense peninsulas intruding far into the Indian Ocean, Arabia on the west, Hindostan in the center, Indo-China on the east, supplemented by the long finger-like projection called Malacca, at the lower extremity of which is the British colony of Singapore. Indo-China has three grand divisions, Burmah and Siam on the west, and Annam, bordering on the Gulf of Tonkin, on the east. This Annam, as the French write it (Ang Nang in Chinese), more properly, ANNAN, is the land in dispute, a strip or tract with a coast-length, north and south, of a thousand miles, and an average width of two hundred, an area of two hundred thousand square miles, and a population vaguely estimated from nine to twenty-seven millions.

The empire of Annan has three political divisions—Lower or French Cochin China, embracing a portion of Camboja on the south; Cochin China or Annan proper in the central coast region; and Tonkin, the large, populous, V-shaped, alluvial delta of the Red River and its branches: a province, with thirteen subdivisions, whose northern boundary coincides with the southern boundary of China, having the same topographical relation to China that Mexico has to the United States. Ignorance of the Chinese language permits Norman to blunder in the outset, when he says: "Tonkin, as its name implies, is the northern portion of the realm." Mesny writes more correctly, "Tungking is Chinese, and means eastern capital," as Peking means northern capital, and Nanking southern capital. Tungking is also the proper orthography, printed Tonquin in old geographies, and in the modern, Tonkin. It is this fine region, inhabited by a teeming population, similar in most regards to the Chinese, covered with a net-work of canals and rivers, abounding in fruitful lowlands and uplands, fertile fields and magnificent forests, rich in mineral wealth and every

variety of tropical production that the French covet, not more for its own sake than because it affords, through navigable streams, promising routes of access to the immense inland provinces of south-western China, shut out, hitherto, from the commerce that prospers and rejoices the more favored maritime coasts of the Chinese empire.

But why are France and China quarreling about Annan? What right has either power to this independent territory? Simply that right of the stronger which has made the nations of the earth land-robbers from the earliest times; the same right that gave ancient Israel the land of Canaan, the right of conquest; the right that makes futile the assumption of Prince Kung, in a state dispatch, that "each nation has a right to guard and protect its own territory by any means that it alone deems best." Annan, the weaker power, has made China, the stronger, its ally and defender for a long period. In an interview with Prince Kung in 1870, Hon. William H. Seward asked: "Is the Annanite empire still tributary to China?" "It still continues to send tribute," was the reply. Norman says: "There is abundant evidence that until the year 1427 Annan was an outlying province of the Chinese empire," when, by a successful rebellion, it achieved partial independence, subject only to pay triennial tribute to the emperor, each new sovereign being required to recognize the rights of the court of Peking on ascending the throne. Other rebellions followed, but the general relation remained the same, and has so continued to the present time.

General Mesny commences his *brochure* of a hundred and fifty pages where Washington Irving begins his "History of New York," at the mythical forty-five hundred years ago. The first mention of the court of Annan sending tribute to the court of China occurred eleven hundred years before Christ, "cockatoos, peacocks, and ivory." Two hundred years before our era, the first emperor of China proper, the "Napoleon" who built the great wall, burnt the sacred books, and destroyed ancient feudalism, subjugated the Annanites. From that time to the present Annan has had a history. Mesny traces it through fifteen chapters, part of a book which he contemplates publishing: "The Chinese Empire." It is foreign to our purpose to reproduce it here. In 1790, the reigning king of

Annan visited Peking, and was feasted and entertained royally. Two years later he died, and his son, a youth of fifteen, ascended the throne. The accession of a minor was the signal for revolt, in which the rebel claimant of the throne is said by Chinese historians to have been "supported by a band of barbarian pirates"—"probably French and Spaniards," says Mesny, who assisted the usurper to gain the throne. The young king appealed to China for aid against this pirate horde; and the emperor "ordered his officials to keep a sharp watch over these hostile vessels, and to defend the coasts of China by a powerful fleet."

European adventurers followed Vasco de Gama around Good Hope and penetrated to every part of the East Indies. Two centuries ago English merchants established a factory, that is, a residence for commercial agents, in Tonkin. Dutch and Portuguese continued the trade after the English, owing to local difficulties, had retired. French and Spanish missionaries were early in the field, and so successful that half a million of converts to Christianity were claimed in the peninsula as early as 1774.

Modern French diplomacy in this region begins with the date on the title-page of M. Gautier's book, 1787, when a French Jesuit priest, missionary bishop at Bankok, induced an exiled king of Annan to apply to Paris for aid. Louis XVI. gave willing ear to the project of opening, by treaty, a commercial highway into Central China. The French Revolution followed, and the government could do nothing; but "a number of soldiers of fortune accompanied the Jesuit bishop on his return to the East, and, in 1789, he landed in Cochin-China at the head of a well-armed and fairly disciplined force. The semi-civilized hordes went down like grass before western troops," and the dethroned monarch regained his kingdom by their aid. Till his death, in 1820, French missions flourished and French officers were in favor. His successor, a younger son, hated foreigners, and bitterly persecuted both native Christians and foreign missionaries. In 1840 he died, and his successor pursued the same system of cruel persecution that his father had carried on. Several missionaries were killed, and several thrown into prison. In January, 1843, a French frigate anchored near the capital, and demanded the release of

the captive missionaries. They were released. The threats of a brace of frigates in 1847 procured another temporary mitigation; but no sooner had the squadron sailed away than the king recommenced his barbarities, which he kept up until his death, in 1848. His successor, Tu Duc, who died last year, proved a very Rehoboam, practically saying, "My father chastised you with whips, I will chastise you with scorpions." He instituted a war of extermination, and offered large rewards for the heads of European priests, and lesser sums for native Christian converts. Between 1851 and 1858 ten French missionaries were beheaded! In August of the latter year the emperor Napoleon III. dispatched an expedition to enforce toleration in Annan. In 1859 Saigon was bombarded and forced to surrender. The war by England and France with China, in 1860, suspended operations in Annan. No sooner was it closed, with the capture of Peking by the allies, than the French, flushed with recent successes in China and the Crimea, returned to make thorough work in Annan. In February, 1861, Admiral Charnier, with strong re-enforcements, appeared before Saigon, situated on a river of the same name, about twenty-five miles from the sea. Its capture was easily effected, and the Annanites were driven out of all their intrenchments in that and the adjacent provinces, so that on June 5, 1862, a second treaty of peace was signed between France and Annan. Of this, as well as the first, Norman gives the full text in French, occupying several pages of his book. The second article stipulated perfect freedom of worship; the third, that three entire provinces should be ceded to his majesty the emperor of the French, with the free navigation of the Camboja River and all its branches. By article eighth the king of Annan was bound to pay an indemnity of four million dollars to the representative of the French emperor at Saigon, to repay the expenses of the war incurred on the part of France.

Persecution ceased, but missionaries were forbidden to build churches, to open schools, or to preach openly, and were excluded from official stations in the Annanite government. Moreover, the king was suspected of stirring up enmity in the southern provinces; and, to put an end to this annoyance, Admiral Grandier, in 1867, occupied three additional provinces, comprising in all 21,000 square miles, a territory half as large

as the State of New York, with a million and a half of inhabitants. The king, exasperated, appealed to China for help to drive the monopolizing barbarians beyond the sea. The monopolizing barbarians would not be so driven, but began instead to cast longing eyes toward the northern limb of Tu Duc's already dismembered empire, when the war with Germany, in 1870, a second time suspended operations in the East. In 1872 these operations were renewed, and a pretext was found for French intervention in the pirates that infested the northern waters of the realm. These the Chinese and Annanite forces combined to repress, peremptorily declining the proffered assistance of the French. Nevertheless, Captain Senez, of the frigate "Bourayne," appeared before Touraine, announcing to the Annanite king his intention of visiting Tonkin and demanding the aid of the court in suppressing piracy. Starting for the mouth of the Red River without further ceremony, Senez destroyed several junks, assuming them to be piratical, steamed up the river, and finally (November 6) reached Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, on the right bank of the stream, seventy or eighty miles from the sea. Here this filibustering French captain threatened to attack the citadel with a boat's crew of fifteen men. After some not remarkably creditable adventures he dropped down to the mouth of the river, and found there a small French flotilla, a half-mercantile, half-filibustering expedition, sent from Saigon, "with which," says Norman, "its leaders meant to force French trade down the throats of the people of Tonkin, much in the same way as Admiral Lapierre had supported the missionaries by the bombshells of his squadron."

The leader of this new invading force was a Frenchman by the name of Dupuis, who had contracted to supply cargoes of foreign arms to the western Chinese mandarins to enable them to crush out the Mohammedan rebellion in the province of Yunnan. An overland trip had satisfied the adventurous Frenchman that the Red River could be traversed at least two hundred miles of the distance between Hanoi and Yunnan by boats of light draught, and here he was, with his fleet, negotiating, by the aid of Captain Senez, for passage up the river to the Tonkinese capital, determined to ascend, under French colors if he could; if not, under the yellow flag of China itself.

The audacious impudence of these self-constituted country-openers was unbounded. Its animating spirit appears in a letter addressed by Senez to the Annanite mandarins. Dupuis's expedition was, with Senez, the materialization of a French idea. The government of Hué must no longer persist in isolating itself from "civilization." To-day it is Dupuis, to-morrow it may be somebody else, but all, and always, France will come to demand, in the name of "progress and civilization," liberty to travel and traffic. "All resistance, believe me, will be vain. Forts, cannon, tariffs [*barrages*], will henceforth be powerless to resist the incoming 'invasion of civilization' now directed toward Annan."

The authorities were inexorable in their refusal to sanction the violation of the treaty, and Senez reluctantly left Dupuis to make his own way up the forbidden river, which he accomplished by cool assurance, and anchored unmolested before Hanoi on December 22. Transferring his cargo of arms to junks of light draught, the hardy adventurer, leaving his steamers and a hundred and fifty men off Hanoi, started on the final stage of his daring voyage. On the 30th of April, loading his junks with copper and tin from the mines, he commenced his return, and a week later reached Hanoi. His next step was to occupy a fortified position on shore; the third, to load a flotilla of junks with salt, a government monopoly, and send it, duty free, up the river! This was too much. A mandarin of high rank was dispatched to Hanoi with orders to drive Dupuis out of the country. Large bodies of armed men were assembled, and barriers constructed on the stream to cut off the retreat of the squadron. Nothing but audacity could save the French. Dupuis was equal to the emergency. He ran up the tricolor, and sent his mate to Saigon for help.

The king also sent an embassy to Saigon demanding the assistance of the French admiral in compelling Dupuis to withdraw from the Red River, as his presence there was a distinct infringement of treaty rights. Admiral Dupré owned that the presence of the French ships in the Red River was a violation of the treaty, and yet an exultant telegram went to Paris:

Tonkin open, through the enterprise of Dupuis! Immense effect on commerce, English, French, American! Absolute

necessity to occupy Tonkin in advance of the double invasion threatened by Europeans and Chinese! It is ours to make sure of this unequaled route!

Permission came to dispatch a force to Hanoi, and the admiral wrote to Francis Garnier, at Shanghai, to join his expedition at once. Garnier was an enthusiast in the idea of opening up China to foreign trade. This enterprising young Frenchman, like his fellow-countryman Dupuis, had made a famous overland exploring expedition through the back or inland provinces of China, and written about it, and he fell in at once with the project of Dupré and Dupuis to get the Chinese out of the valley of the Red River, and to annex Tonkin to France. Norman devotes fifty pages of his book to a picturesque account of this naval, military, semi-political, semi-philanthropic, and clearly piratical expedition. I must condense his dramatic narrative here as much as possible.

While officially restricting their mission to the business of settling the dispute between Dupuis and the rulers at Hanoi, Dupré and Garnier evidently intended to act on a much wider scale. Garnier consults the French minister at Peking on the best means of preventing Tonkin from falling into the hands of the English, and, at the same time, writes enthusiastically to a friend:

> I want to see a French garrison in Tonkin and a railroad connecting Yunnan with the Red River. The English will never get over that! I feel that if I am supported, Indo-China is French.

Presuming that the English were scheming to get at the back provinces of China by the way of Burmah, Garnier throws heart and soul into the counter-work of reaching them by the way of the Red River.

> In order to understand the dash and gallantry of this brave man it will be advisable to dwell on the composition of his command, amounting in the whole to less than two hundred men.... Two small gun-boats were to be towed to the mouth of the Red River by corvettes, where a detachment of infantry of marine were to join them, and twenty gunners. . . . With this petty force did Garnier contemplate the subjugation of Tonkin.

We omit his letters and proclamations. Fortified and re-enforced by the arrival of other gun boats, Garnier formally warned the governor of Hanoi that he must submit to accept

the terms of a commercial treaty which he dictated: 1. Opening the Red River to commerce from Nov. 15, 1873; 2. Exclusive navigation by Chinese and French vessels; 3, 4, and 5. Regulation of customs. His terms were not complied with, and on the 20th of November, at day-break, he stormed the citadel. It is the old story of civilized and savage warfare.

> The Annanites, unaccustomed to artillery fire, and hitherto ignorant of the terrible effect of shells, took to flight, and soon the rice-fields were covered with fugitives, among whom the long-range cannon worked terrible havoc. By eight o'clock the French colors were hoisted on the citadel, which, with the town, was entirely deserted, and the utmost quiet reigned.

Before the end of the month the whole delta was in his hands. It was easier to achieve than to keep. Garrisoning the principal forts that maintained communication between Hanoi and the sea weakened his own force, and the enemy gathered in swarms. "On the 21st of December the storm burst. Chinese, Black Flags, and Annanites appeared on the Sontay road." Fire from the brave defenders of the citadel checked the advance for awhile. A sortie to drive back the masses of the enemy was successful for a brief space, but Garnier and his lieutenant, Balny, ventured too far from the fort (some two miles), and both fell at the head of their columns, which were thrown into confusion and retreat by the death of their leaders. The Chinese, contented with the heads of the two French officers as trophies, returned to Sontay in exulting triumph!

Admiral Dupré was not prepared to initiate war between France and China by indorsing these precipitate acts of the daring Garnier. M. Philastre, a diplomatist, was sent from Saigon to Hué, and on the 3d of January, 1874, reached Hanoi, withdrew the garrisons, and commenced negotiations with the Annanite government for a new treaty, which was made and ratified in August following. The French text of this document occupies eight pages of Norman. It opened the Red River to commerce, opened three new ports, allowed the French to locate consuls at these ports, with a military escort, and gave those consuls jurisdiction over all foreigners in Annan, with power to refuse permission to Europeans to settle in the country. A French Resident was to make his head-quarters at the capital, Hué,

and the customs service was to be in the hands of French officials. Norman notes that under the treaty of commerce, during the first eighteen months, not a single French merchant ship entered the Red River. Eleven English, six German, and a hundred and sixteen Chinese were all that availed themselves of the new route to western China, that, according to Garnier, was to revolutionize oriental trade. Admiral Dupré, governor of Cochin China, insisted on the necessity of explaining to China the new position occupied by France toward Annan. The French ministry refused for prudential reasons, and Dupré resigned rather than be party to a violation of the treaty. Philastre and Dupré were men of honor. Dupré's successor arrived at Saigon in 1878, armed with power either to strengthen himself in the Red River country or to withdraw altogether from Tonkin, if he thought the alliance was producing mischief in straining the patience of the Chinese government. Meanwhile the king of Annan, in open disregard of the exclusive French suzerainty, prepared and sent out the usual tribute-bearing embassy to Peking, under a salute of guns from the fortress, and under the very eyes of a French consul!

When, in 1875, it was suggested to China that she should withdraw her forces from Tonkin, the government answered that "imperial forces had been sent to Tonkin, 1. To succor a tributary kingdom; 2. To assure the safety of our frontiers." Prince Kung added, "China cannot refuse protection and aid to a vassal." The Chinese troops were not withdrawn. In 1879 fresh rebellion in Tonkin was suppressed without the aid of French troops, and the "Peking Gazette" of January 25, 1880, announced that peace had been restored in the dominion of those "whom our investiture has rendered our vassals." French prestige was being weakened in Annan, and the cabinet decided that it must take a step forward if it would not retire from Tonkin altogether. These warlike tendencies of the government leaked out, and the Chinese minister, Marquis Tseng, addressed a dispatch to M. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, in which the rights of China in Annan were very plainly alluded to. No notice was taken of Minister Tseng's communication.

A month later Marquis Tseng demanded an explanation of these bellicose rumors, but "it was not till the 8th of January,

1882, that he was put in possession of views which France and French ministers had studiously kept secret from China for seven years!" From that time the French government assumed that China had acknowledged the receipt of a copy of the treaty of 1874, and had not then objected to it, and, therefore, had virtually acknowledged the French protectorate over Tonkin! They claimed that the treaty contained the phrase, "a country *heretofore* tributary to China." Marquis Tseng insisted that the word "*autrefois*" was not in the original treaty, and that, in his letter acknowledging the receipt of the treaty and commenting on its contents, Prince Kung had used these words: "*Has been for a long time, and still is*, tributary to China:" which words were omitted by the French translator, and an omission which altered the whole gist of China's claim: an omission which, says Norman, "it is hard to believe was unintentional."

Every thing now drifted toward war. The French consul at Hanoi represented himself as seriously threatened by the Black Flags, and Captain Rivière was directed to proceed up the Red River and re-enforce the consular escort. In March, 1882, the Red River expedition was organized. It consisted of two sloops of war, eight gun-boats, one dispatch-boat, one steam-launch, and 620 men, all being under command of Captain Henri Rivière, "a writer of several excellent novels and more than one indifferent play." The governor of Cochin China, M. Vilers, enjoined pacific measures in a letter of instructions to Captain Rèviere, given in French, *in extenso*, on pages 192–196 of Norman. Captain Rivière was instructed to avoid all hostilities; to forward all prisoners to Saigon for disposal; not to execute any Black Flags taken captive; not to come in contact with Chinese imperial troops. On the 2d of April the hostile fleet (for such it proved to be) anchored off Hanoi. The mandarins naturally answered this display of force by similar show of force. Rivière remonstrated with them, saying that their hostile attitude was calculated to provoke war. He announced to the governor that his expedition had two objects: 1. To rid the river of pirates; 2. To get a new treaty, the terms of which were, (1) The abolition of all transit dues; (2) Free passage for all French ships through all the water-ways of Annan; (3) The transfer of the various forts

between Hanoi and the sea to the French; (4) The withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tonkin.

On the 21st of April Captain Rivière forwarded his ultimatum to the hesitating mandarins, threatening to attack the citadel by eight o'clock the next morning if his demands were not acceded to. The rulers temporized and Rivière acted. On the 26th, at eight A. M., he opened fire on the citadel, and a storming column of 800 seamen and marines was forthwith landed. By eleven the walls were breached and the garrison flying, followed, as they fled, by the destructive shells of the gun-boats. By twelve the tricolor was floating from the citadel. The French loss, as usual, was trifling, that of the Annanites heavy, upward of 1,100 dead bodies being buried by the victors.

March 25, 1883, Rivière proceeded to Nam-Dinh, a place on the southern arm of the river, only thirty miles or so from the sea. With ten vessels, and 800 marines in addition to the vessels' crews, he appeared before the city and at once summoned the governor to surrender. The governor refused, and at day-break on the 27th the squadron opened fire on the forts, the marines landed, and by night-fall the tricolor floated over the bastions of Nam-Dinh, as it had done under Garnier ten years before.

The losses on the side of the French were slight, those of the Annanites put down at the usual figure, "a thousand killed and wounded," prisoners forty-nine, summarily executed at yard-arm on Rèviere's own vessel, in direct defiance of the instructions of Governor Le Myre de Vilers!

While Rivière was absent at Nam-Dinh, the Black Flags (reconstructed outlaws of the Robin Hood stamp) made a determined night attack on the French in the citadel at Hanoi. The opportune arrival of a gun-boat, armed with rifled cannon, drove off the invaders; but on his return to Hanoi, on the 2nd of April, 1883, Commander Rivière found the enemy annoying the garrison in every possible way, and he determined to make a demonstration in the direction of Sontay, a post twenty-five or thirty miles farther up the river, which for many years had been held by a Chinese garrison. The resistance of the Annanites was vigorous. Ten years before, 1873, Garnier, with 700 men, overran the whole peninsula; now, Rivière,

with 1,200 men, had to proceed cautiously. Every day the Black Flags grew bolder and more demonstrative, and Rèviere felt that some crushing blow must be delivered at once before the commencement of the hot season. On the 19th of May, though suffering from fever, he made a sortie from the citadel and pushed along the same fatal road which Garnier had pursued ten years before, to meet the same fate. The column was ambuscaded, and Rivière fell at the head of it, with three other officers and fifty men. The spot where Rivière fell in 1883 was not 1,500 yards from where Garnier met his death in 1873. Norman opines that "when the history of France in Further India comes to be written, the names of Garnier and Rivière will be found associated with the blackest deeds that ever stained the annals of European intervention in the East." They enacted Cortez and Pizarro on a small scale, it is true, but would not a French annalist easily find parallels in British armed interference in every quarter of the globe?

Since May 19, 1883, "France," says General Mesny, "has been continually sending re-enforcements to Annan to avenge Henri Rivière's death. The news of the disaster reached Paris on the 26th, and the Colonial Minister telegraphed over the wires, "France will avenge her brave sons," (*glorieux enfants.*) Smaller garrisons were speedily evacuated and beleaguered Hanoi strengthened. A squadron for special service was fitted out, and Admiral Courbet appeared on the field. Emboldened by their success in checking Rivière, the Black Flags drew a close cordon around Hanoi and determined to drive out the barbarians in 1883 as they had done in 1873. Heavy fighting was done in this neighborhood, the details of which we have not room to recapitulate. The emperor, Tu Duc, died on the 20th of July, and on the 18th of August Admiral Courbet appeared before the capital, Hué, with six vessels, a naval brigade of 1,200 marines, and fifteen light field-guns drawn by coolies. After sustaining heavy bombardment for two days, the forts at the mouth of the river surrendered, and two gun-boats steamed over the bar and cannonaded the town itself. On the 20th the Foreign Minister arrived under cover of a flag of truce and a treaty was forthwith demanded. Captain Norman says: "No quarter was given in the fight. All prisoners were summarily shot by the admiral's orders." The signature to the

new treaty was wrung from the new king at the point of the bayonet on the 25th of August. Annan was to recognize the French protectorate and to bind herself to hold no communication with foreign powers except through the French Resident at Hué. The southernmost province of Annan was to be added to the six already taken; forts on Hué River were to be garrisoned by French troops; the customs were placed in French hands; railroad and telegraph lines were to be constructed between Saigon and Hanoi; French residents, with garrisons, were to live in all the principal towns; Annan was to cede all her ships of war, and to furnish indemnity sufficient to pay the expenses of French occupation. Thus, Annan itself forced to become a dependency of France, as well as Cochin China on the south and Tonkin on the north, the French virtually took possession of the entire peninsula.

What could China do but protest and remonstrate? Admiral Courbet now assumed control over operations in the Red River. He demanded and obtained what he has since energetically maintained, absolute and unfettered freedom of action. His first objective point was Sontay. Reconnoitering showed that the fortress was strong, and with only 7,000 men he did not think it advisable to attempt its reduction. In November he had 9,000 men with fifty guns, and the addition of twelve Hotchkiss revolving cannon from the fleet. This M'Clellan policy of delay and calling for re-enforcements seemed to General Mesny "a policy of shilly-shally." Norman thinks it was dictated by "political reasons;" hesitancy on the part of the home government to involve itself in a war with China on account of Annan. Nevertheless, on the 14th of December, having drawn large re-enforcements from below, Admiral Courbet advanced against Sontay with a force 10,000 strong, including Annanite irregulars. On the 16th the town was reached, and the gun-boats shelled the works. By night-fall the outworks were carried, and the Chinese, in the ensuing darkness, evacuated the citadel. The boasting French declared that "Sedan was compensated in Sontay!" Norman gives the losses at 75 killed, 245 wounded, and these chiefly the dark allies of the French, and not native French born troops. Mesny, who draws his information from Chinese sources, says: "So desperate was the fighting that the French loss was over a thousand men, being especially

heavy in officers, while the loss of the enemy was slight, the dead in the town being chiefly non-combatant inhabitants."

In March of the present year (1884) Bac-Ninh, thirty miles north-east from Hanoi, was occupied; in April Hing Hoa, above Sontay, was captured; in May a provisional treaty was agreed on at Tientsin between Commander Fournier and Commissioner Li, which it was hoped might stay hostilities and prevent war, but on the 23d of June, collision at Langsong put an end to negotiations. The French claimed "infraction of treaty," and demanded from China $5,000,000 under penalty of immediate resumption of war and its transfer from Tonkin to the soil of China itself. Langsong is a hundred miles north-east from Hanoi and within twenty of the Chinese boundary line. The question "Who fired the first gun at Langsong?" has been mooted and never satisfactorily answered. Rev. T. H. Worley, of Central China Mission, in a letter to the "Central Christian Advocate," October last, says:

> There can be little doubt that the deliberate judgment of the civilized world will be that France was really the transgressor in the Langsong skirmish, as she was moving her troops northward near the Chinese frontier without warrant or right, while the preliminary treaty was pending for a final settlement between the two countries.

The Chinese refused to pay the heavy indemnity, and on the 11th of August the French fleet bombarded the defenses of Keeloong, a coaling station belonging to the Chinese at the northern end of the island of Formosa. Thence, crossing over 150 miles, they entered the river Min, steamed past its defenses without resistance by the Chinese, and anchored their whole force in the wide reach of the river used as anchorage ground by all foreign vessels, nine miles below the city of Foochow. It is noteworthy that this was the first point at which French operations and French methods came directly under the eyes of European spectators.

Foochow had never before been subjected to foreign attack. The people could hardly believe the French in earnest to visit on them revenge for reverses in a neighboring country so far away as Tonkin. In any southern river the forts at its mouth would have done their best to keep the intruders out of the stream. Yet here the whole fleet was permitted to ascend

twenty five miles and anchor quietly in the Min to renew, upon the local mandarins, their demand for indemnity. The local mandarins had no indemnity to pay, so notice was given that the next day the fleet would commence attack; the non-combatants, and foreign women and children residing on Pagoda Island, were warned to take refuge on shipboard, and the neutral vessels, thirteen in number, to get out of the way. Three English men-of-war, several merchantmen, the United States steam corvette "Enterprise," and other vessels were anchored, some above and the rest half a mile down the stream. On the east side of the river was the Chinese custom house, in front of which lay three Chinese gun-boats. Two miles across, diagonally, to the west, were the works of the Chinese Arsenal, "a dock, tall chimneys, rows of workshops, whence the clang of steam hammers and the hum of engines might be distinctly heard, looking in the distance like an English manufacturing village, with a row of steam hammers mighty enough to forge a shaft for the biggest steamer afloat, shops for practical engineering and ship-building, schools for mechanical drawing and modeling, the splendid works from which had been turned out a fleet of gun-boats that would not dishonor a ship-yard in Europe, formidable enough to native pirates, but not of much service in a combat with a powerful western armament." So wrote traveler Thomson in 1875. Saturday, August 23, 1884, this little Chinese fleet lay, till noon, calmly, *vis-à-vis* with nine ships of the finest navy in the world, each foreign vessel silently training its guns upon a selected victim on the other side, and waiting for the signal to open the terrible scene of carnage. The Chinese crews stood by their guns waiting for the French to begin. At five minutes to 2 P. M. the French began, and the broadsides of nine iron-clads rained a perfect storm and hail upon their respective targets in such an incessant shower that whole crews were swept away, their vessels being in a sinking condition or on fire before their surviving defenders had recovered from the first thunder-bolt crash sufficiently to return the French fire, which they did with some execution, while the infernal torpedo boat shot out for the Chinese flag-ship, made fast to her stern, and blew her out of water! It was a duel at ten paces; one of the parties armed with a Spencer rifle and skilled in its use, taking direct aim, and his own time to fire,

while the other was fumbling a match-lock which he discharged as he fell, sufficiently wide of its object! The demoralized crews jumped overboard; two of the gun-boats tried to escape up the river; but in an hour the arsenal was defenseless. The river was covered with burning fragments and strewn with dead and dying. "The pitiless French gave no quarter." On Sunday the French knocked the arsenal to pieces, one of the finest establishments of the kind in the world, said to have cost the Chinese government $150,000,000. Without attempting to land or hold the place, the French fleet, leaving one or two thousand natives dead and wounded, departed to renew their filibustering and piratical ravages elsewhere.* Filibustering and piratical we advisedly call them, because they were perpetrated, and, up to this writing, have been carried on, without declaration of war, being merely exhibitions of strategy and strength apparently for the purposes of intimidation and empty glorification! To openly declare war or proclaim blockade would shut their fleet out of the neutral port of Hong-Kong, whither the disabled resort to recruit and repair.

Reports from battle-fields lie like politicians. Each side conceals or minifies its own losses and magnifies those of the enemy. From every field the French report losses in killed and wounded. The Chinese take no care for census statistics of any kind, living or dead, much less of its coolie soldiery, and it will never be known how many thousands of them have been swept away by the murderous machines now in vogue in naval warfare. Mesny says, "The French allow no correspondents to accompany them to the scene of action," and the officers report only what will please the people, glorify the "*glorieux enfants*," and secure additional millions of francs from the French Chambers. Mesny's little volume, written in Hong-Kong and from a Chinese stand-point, is a serviceable corrective of Norman's in facts, tone, and temper. He points out that the Black Flags are not, as Norman assumes, the relics of banished Tai-ping rebels, and that, too, without having known of

* In a letter from Japan dated August 29, 1884, a week after the bombardment, the late Bishop Wiley wrote: "The general judgment of all parties out here is, that the course of the French is one of high-handed outrage, little better than a marauding expedition, wholly out of place in the nineteenth century, and only fitted to rank with the old Portuguese and Spanish brigandage of two centuries ago."

Norman's work when he wrote his own. Both works are in the same egotistic British vein, though so different in spirit. That France is actuated less by a national passion for glory than by jealousy of England, is Norman's key-note and refrain. Mesny's drift is to show that China's protectorate of Tonkin is centuries old, and that it has never been surrendered. Says Mesny:

> China and Annan both are well aware of the unblushingly piratical nature of the late French attempts in Tunis and Madagascar, and China is determined not to have France as a powerful and hostile state on the very borders of her wealthiest provinces. . . . *For every man France loses, China can afford to lose a thousand.*

Supposing her to be successful, what will France gain by the unequal struggle? She will merely incur the intense and undying hatred of both Annanites and Chinese. Chinese opinion of their foreign assailants may be gathered from a proclamation placarded on the walls of Sontay at the time of the filibustering raid of Rivière:

> You, French freebooters, dwellers by force in Europe, tigers in the world at large, venting your crafty schemes and evil deeds, there is no land for which your mouth does not water, no riches you do not desire to devour. Religious teaching you employ as a means to injure and undermine. International commerce is, with you, a pretext for swallowing up countries. Your cruelty is infinite, your wickedness extreme. On your strength you rely to debauch our women, crimes which excite the indignation of gods and men, unendurable in heaven and on earth. You would avail yourselves of an excuse to acquire Annan under pretext of international commerce, trying to befool the world, to give vent to your martial designs, seizing cities, storming towns, slaughtering officials, and robbing the revenue, killing the innocent and encouraging marauding bands. Your outrages and cruelties have reached far and wide. Rivers would not wash out your shame.

There is much more of the same sort, and all of it is sufficiently vigorous.

Trade cannot be *made* to flow down the Red River, while the West River runs from the same region direct to Canton.

> France will have, for years, to maintain a large European army in an unhealthy climate, and will require strong garrisons in every town she desires to hold. French power will cease when the rifle-bullet ceases to hum, or French artillery is no longer heard.....The only parties who will ultimately derive benefit from the success of the aggressive policy of France will be Britain commercially, and China politically, for Great Britain will

have the trade, whether Tonkin is Chinese or not, and China will heed the lessons taught by the recent imbroglio and prepare herself to cope with future troubles of the same or a similar nature.

France will teach China the art of war, as Bonaparte taught Europe the tactics by which he was ultimately overthrown.

The only American critic of Norman's work who has come under our notice, regrets that the captain did not stick to simple narrative, and omit his ultra-British opinions and objurgations. We have adhered to this plan, and presented the gist of his studies and collections in such form as to give readers the fullest idea of the situation in the East. It would add nothing to the value of this article to load it with the charges of duplicity, "tyranny, greed, cruelty, and unscrupulousness" with which the captain garnishes his book from preface to appendix.

As a specimen of many pages we quote a single paragraph from the former:

> The Republic is playing the braggart's game. She feels that her very existence depends on France being fed with "glory," and her ministers indulge in vain hopes that the grievous burden of taxation will be forgotten in the glamour of a successful campaign. But war breeds war, and defeat is the twin to victory. Sedan was the corollary to Mexico. Will Sontay be avenged in Paris?

There is no doubt that "jealousy of England is a national trait in the French character." We were greatly indebted to France for help to bring the American Revolution to a successful close; but our gratitude might have been slightly alloyed with the reflection that it was less to help a struggling people into national existence than to deal a staggering blow at her ancient rival and foe. Fifteen years afterward Frenchmen were ready to go to war with us for declining to second their insane efforts to overthrow all law and order. In 1862 France executed a flank movement in aid of the rebellion, and for the destruction of the very republic she had helped to create, by invading Mexico (just as she is now invading Tonkin), and setting up an empire under her protectorate on our southern borders. Mesny and Norman both point to the patent fact that France is a failure as a colonizer. Her greatest successes in this line were achieved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when she owned all America north of the St. Lawrence and west of the Mississippi, and attempted to monopolize the Ohio.

England wrested Canada from her, and Bonaparte sold us her western possessions to prevent their falling into the hands of the British; and to-day France owns nothing in this hemisphere except a few insignificant islands and a fragment of Guiana in South America. She did the commercial world a service by subjecting the Algerine pirates, and holding on to them in spite of chronic insurrection, and the cost of the sustenance of a force of 75,000 men as a police necessary to keep 3,000,000 Mohammedans in order. Why she needed to add to this bill of expense the further charge of a protectorate of Tunis the world is yet inquiring. Frank Vincent, author of "The Land of the White Elephant," visited Saigon and recorded his impressions of the French as colonists:

"France in the East" is, so far as my limited observation goes, a great farce, a travesty, a burlesque upon colonization in general. The French character is sadly wanting in many of the virtues necessary for successful pioneering in foreign lands. It lacks those sturdy, energetic, persevering traits which we see so ably displayed by the English in India and Australia and by the Germans in America. It must be that politics alone have to do with the retaining at the present day of so minute and oddly situated a province as Pondicherry, in India, or such a country as Cochin China, inhabited by so warlike and rebellious a people. After seeing the healthy, growing, and usually *paying* colonies of the British empire in the East, a visit to Saigon, "the infant capital of Asiatic France," leaves a ludicrous impression upon the mind of the observant and reflecting traveler. . . . The appearance of the Government House, an elegant modern palace of brick, with grand marble staircases, such as would grace London, Paris, or Washington, situated in the midst of a tropical jungle, surrounded by a few bamboo huts, is most droll.

Thomson, in his "Indo-China," says, in his remarks on Saigon, "The bulk of its commerce is in the hands of English and Germans; the French merchant carries on his trade with the polite ease and elegant deliberation" that characterize him at home, with little or none of the "weary toil, sleepless nights, and anxious days that enable the energetic trader to wrest a competency from the hands of fortune." Was there sarcasm in Governor Seward's remembrances of a visit to Saigon in 1871?

All eastern potentates and nobles maintain menageries. The public garden at Saigon proclaimed itself an appendage of the French Republic by a meager collection of leopards, tigers, bears, monkeys, birds, and reptiles.

He nevertheless devotes a page ("Around the World," p. 289) to philosophic reflections on the past and present of French colonization, west and east; thinks it sad that France has lost nearly all her colonial possessions, which she is now striving to replace in Cochin China in an Asiatic French empire, about forty miles square, which "figures so largely in the ambitious manifestoes of the government in Paris." Mr. Seward does not fail to note that the emperor of Annan "has two strings to his bow—concedes to France a protectorate [under treaty pressure], and at the same time, as titular vassal, claims protection from the emperor of China." That vassalship cropped squarely out, ten years after this, between the raids of Garnier (1873) and Rivière (1882–83) when the king of Annan sent to the emperor of China the customary triennial tribute, the articles of which were: Two elephant's tusks; two rhinoceros's horns; forty-five catties (60 lbs.) of betel nuts; forty-five catties of "grains of paradise" (a highly pungent aromatic); six hundred ounces of sandal-wood; one hundred pieces each of native silk, white silk, and raw silk; one hundred pieces of native cloth. "I, your vassal, in the torrid South, hasten to do my duty as befits my station." No mention of the "French protectorate" so strenuously insisted upon and vigorously enforced by treaties exacted by bomb-shells and bayonets for the preceding twenty years.

The suspicion of intentional omission in the translation of a treaty between France and Annan in 1874 recalls the charge made by Dr. Williams ("Middle Kingdom," vol. ii, p. 362) that the Chinese text of the French treaty with China in June, 1858, contained a paragraph not found in the French text of the convention, nor in any other foreign treaties, British, Russian, or American, namely, "It is permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure." Dr. Williams says:

> The surreptitious insertion of this important stipulation in Article III of the Chinese text made void the whole, and was a procedure unworthy of a great nation like France, whose army environed Peking when the convention was signed.

Those Chinese who remember the war of 1858 think they have reason to hate the nation that so ruthlessly destroyed the emperor's magnificent summer palace and garden at Peking,

the cost of the furnishings of which Lord Elgin estimated at $5,000,000; and who, instead of asking, like the British, for a slice of Chinese territory, insisted on indemnification for "all such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings as were owned by the persecuted Roman Catholic missionaries generations before; an order which doubtless intensified the animosity that resulted in the Tientsin massacre of French missionaries in 1870, and produced such general revolt among property-holders that the project had to be quietly abandoned by French consuls and ministers. We may note, in passing, a sad exhibition of French jealousy of "perfidious Albion," in standing out last year in a world-convention to settle on a prime meridian because it was proposed that that meridian should run through the Greenwich Observatory!

Nevertheless, it would seem that we should look for some higher motive in a brave, intelligent people like the French than mere jealousy of a rival power. France might have a laudable ambition to provide homes abroad for a surplus population, if like her insular neighbor she were overcrowded at home. France has not had need, like Britain, to send out ten millions of colonists. France is one of the armed camps by which the surface of continental Europe is held. Every male must serve in the army twenty years; and by the time he is forty he is fixed at home, and all the inducements held out to young couples beginning life to begin it on foreign soil, have vanished, and he grows old where his youth and middle life have been spent. Passion for official life is universal in France, and "one half the populace is heavily taxed that the other half may wear shoulder-straps." In the colonies the "officials are ten to one of the resident French population." Laws remanding prisoners from distant colonies to France for judicial trial are out of joint with the times and subversive of the growth of independent governmental policy in the colonies themselves. The humane governor of Saigon would have had the Black Flags taken in war sent to Saigon for trial, but the naval commanders made pirates of all prisoners, and hung and shot and beheaded on the spot all that fell into their hands. Norman insists that France, like Spain in the fifteenth century, knows no modes of propagating the Roman Catholic religion in heathendom except by slaughter and conquest.

In possession of a magnificent navy, her crews and commanders naturally prefer action to repose. They would rather be at war than rotting idly in quiet harbors at home or dull stations at foreign ports. Crews get exercise as well as pay, and officers get experience and *gloire*. When opportunity offers to raid a semi-barbarian's summer palace all get "loot," the cheerful oriental designation of the fruits of spoliation and robbery, called among us "plunder," not by any means in the innocent western sense of personal luggage.

China and Annan waters are the training ground for a navy that by its magnificent equipments, splendid service, and formidableness is already exciting the jealousy, if not the fears, of England, who proudly remembers how she swept France from the seas in 1805, as her confederate cruisers did our merchant marine in 1863, '64. The terribly unequal contest between this well-appointed fleet and the ill-manned and worse officered Chinese vessels suggests to the imagination the picture of a future possibility of the collision of two such squadrons, French and English or French and German, with like armaments and similarly experienced and determined crews. The volcanic Paris commune, ever ready to burst into lurid eruption, needs constant vent. The attention of the mob needs to be distracted from Paris and home matters and fixed on the "glory" of French arms and French successes abroad.

Compte de Gasparin wrote, in 1881, of the French people:

> War amuses us, sons of ancient Gallic sires, who knew no pleasure superior to that of fighting; who burned the [Roman] capitol, and left their name in distant Galatia [Gaul-Asia]. We demand excitement! We have reached the reputation of *enfants terrible* [fearful fellows], dreaded as a source of constant danger! [A standing menace to the peace of Europe, the world inquires,] "What will France do next?" "What is she getting ready for now?" "Where will she attack?" "What is she most desirous of?" There are not fifteen minutes' peace, any way! Now, it is war, and Europe, armed to the teeth, asks each morning if France is not about to give the signal and begin the fray? Anon, it is revolution, and neighboring States ask anxiously if anarchy is about to run riot and infest the whole body politic? When a French dynasty has lasted fifteen years its days, as every body knows, are numbered. Paris will be in a blaze, and incendiary torches will light up the whole horizon! I have heard grave men seriously propose that Europe, jaded to death with

these constant alarms, should put France under bonds to end these ever-recurring dangers.

Revolutionary France is even more troublesome than warring France. France does not merely endure a revolution, she enjoys it; goes into it on a grand scale. The entire people take a hand in, and, under pretext of liberty, scatter its fires to the four quarters of the globe. Let us not deceive ourselves. A volcano is not a pleasant neighbor to any body.

While England, as a limited monarchy, and the United States, as a republic, have pursued the even tenor of their way for a century, uneasy France, an absolutism under Louis XVI., became a sort of republic in the first days of the Revolution; an imperialism under Napoleon I.; a Bourbon monarchy under Louis XVIII. and Charles X.; an Orleans dynasty under Louis Philippe; a republic in 1848; an imperialism under the third Napoleon, and a republic for the third time from 1870!

The national craze of the hour seems to be for "protectorates." Civilized governments and the Caucasian race assume that the semi-civilized and dark races are unable to take care of themselves, and generously proffer their protection. England has recently proclaimed a "protectorate" over the immense island of New Guinea; Germany a "protectorate" over Zanzibar; France over Tunis, with proffer of a rejected "protectorate" over part of Madagascar; another in the valley of the Congo; and another over the peninsula of Annan.

China is no match for France—has no adequate protection against the "armed intervention" so dear to military Europe. Her only sure protective policy is, that which she has pursued for centuries, the turtle hiding within its shell—a policy of isolation and exclusion. The allied world-protectors have beaten down her walls, broken open her barricaded gates, and forced their way into the presence of the yellow throne of the "son of heaven," a sacrilege like that of which Italy has been guilty in reducing the god of the Vatican to the status of a mortal and a citizen. They have said to the emperor, "Put iron-clads and steam frigates and corvettes in place of your clumsy, lateen-rigged junks; substitute breech-loading rifled cannon, Hotchkiss revolving and immense Krupp guns for the rusty smooth bores with which the Jesuits manned your fortresses two hundred years ago." China took the advice because she was

compelled to; built half a dozen arsenals, under the direction of French engineers, the same nation that helped Annan to the forts and defenses a hundred years ago, and later, that has rendered the resistance in that country so much more stubborn than any as yet encountered in China itself. Now, when China has expended millions, wrung from her half-clothed, half-starved, opium-stupefied populations, and equipped arsenals that are a wonder and admiration with foreigners, at Canton, Ningpo, Foochow, Shanghai, and Peking, comes the very nation that helped her to these "modern improvements," and knocks them about her ears as French cannon knocked the bricks out of the old wall of Shanghai in 1856! The demand for "indemnity" to pay for the expense of giving China these lessons in Christian tactics has risen, in the minds of her assailants, to sixteen millions, now talked of as a proper offset to her stubbornness in declining to pay five! Soon a slice of territory will have to be added to the pecuniary compensation, and it would not be surprising if, in addition to Tonkin, China were called on to surrender Yunnan (the Cloudy South), with her immense territory and millions of inhabitants.

The Christian world of the nineteenth century has expended millions in the far East to introduce a religion that professes to be a religion of peace. Through that semi-political organization, Jesuitism, it has brought the Annanites nothing but disturbance, dismemberment, and chronic war. To China and India the proffer has been like that of the Arabs, the "sword or the Koran," bomb-shells and Bibles, Krupp-shot and crucifixes, priests and torpedoes, oratories and opium. Consistency is nothing to Caucasian ideal progressives, shouting "free country" and "free trade" with one breath; at the next, our politicians adopt China's own antiquated exclusion policy, and impose a tariff on labor, taboo "free labor" altogether, and give a monopoly of high wages and excessive "protection" to its own favored white citizens. Governmentally, China and France, like America, are Augean stables of official corruption. When and by whom these filthy purlieus of their respective capitals are to be purged does not clearly appear. How long must Christianity and pure civilization be disgraced and retarded by unscrupulous national ambition and sordid commercial interest?

Art. III. — SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREEK ARTICLE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The doctrine of the Greek article has attracted the attention of New Testament critics for generations, and is still an unsettled problem. An inquiry into its nature and the application of it to some disputed points in exegesis is not unworthy of attention. Some of the best grammarians hold that no definite rules can be laid down in relation to it, the exceptions being so numerous as almost to exclude the idea of a well-defined law. Buttman ("New Testament Grammar") says :*

> In reference to the definite article the rules and regulations given in the grammars hold good, so far as in a subject so delicate we can talk of rules. For the endeavor to lay down fixed laws respecting the use of the article many a learned and laborious inquiry has already come to naught ; and the intention ought at length to be abandoned of forcing the use or the omission of the article under precise regulations which find the proof of their nullity and uselessness in the throng of exceptions which it is necessary to subjoin straightway to almost every rule laid down.

Such a statement practically excludes the article from any positive service, in disputed cases, to the exegete, by making it a matter of impossibility to show that the writer under consideration had any positive reason for its use or omission.

Language, however, is so subtle and, when employed by the careful writer, so accurate that such a view would be destructive of all satisfactory interpretation of the article. Every body almost involuntarily employs and omits the article, if not with a definite object, yet with a definite result. It is practically impossible that a writer, especially in an argumentative production, should use the article or any other element of speech so loosely as to create embarrassment on the part of the reader as to the true meaning intended to be conveyed. We shall in this discussion consider first what is the distinguishing feature of the employment or omission of the article in the New Testament, and then apply it particularly to some passages which may serve as illustrations.

It is conceded that it was originally a demonstrative pronoun, and that in the development of the Greek language it natu-

* Thayer's translation, p. 85.

rally assumed its present form and its distinct meaning. Curtius* says: "It seems to set forth an object, either as a single one (the individualizing article) or as a class (the generic article)." Crosby† says: "The article is prefixed to substantives to mark them as definite." Donaldson‡ says: "The chief employment of the definite article is to distinguish the subject from the predicate; for from the nature of the case the subject is considered to be something definite, of which something general is predicated or denied." Winer's New Testament Grammar§ remarks: "When *ὁ, ἡ, τό* is employed as strictly an article before a noun, it marks the object as one definitely conceived, whether in consequence of its nature, or the context, or some circle of ideas assumed as known."

It is clear from all these statements that the definite article has a meaning which cannot be ignored in any accurate exegesis of a Greek author. The grammars of the language abound in rules for its introduction and omission, showing thereby that there must be laws that control its insertion, even though they cannot accurately define what they are. Middleton's great work on the Greek article is a splendid exhibition of fine critical acumen employed on a worthy subject of scholastic and practical inquiry. It is, however, apparent from a study of the exegesis of the New Testament, as exhibited in our best commentaries, that the force of the article is still an unsettled problem. Two of the best of modern commentators, Alford and Ellicott, seem to have no clear conception of its use when employed, or of the significance of its omission. Alford on Romans, and Ellicott on Galatians, seem to employ the article with *νόμος* almost indiscriminately. The late revisers of the New Testament were evidently embarrassed in the same way, and have at times produced confusion in the translation from this very cause.

In order to make the discussion more specific, it is best to employ a word which gives full scope for variety of opinion and on which diversity of opinion is most marked, namely, *νόμος*. The earliest indication we have of the difficulty of explaining this word is found in the changes of text which have evidently arisen out of the tendency to make *νόμος*, whether with or without the article, mean the same thing. Let Rom. ii, 13,

* Sec. 370, Harper's edition. † Sec. 520.
‡ Sec. 394. § Thayer's translation, p. 105.

serve as an example. The *Textus Receptus* reads, *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται.*

It will be seen that Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, as also our late revisers, omit the article before *νόμος* in both cases. That it should be omitted is manifest from the most cursory examination of the manuscript authorities. The Sinaitic, the Alexandrian, the Vatican, are unanimous in its omission. The only question is, Why was it ever inserted at a later date, and why was it retained so long, when the evidence against it is so overwhelming? The readiest and most satisfactory solution is that *ὁ νόμος* was regarded as meaning the Mosaic law, and as they supposed that the apostle had in mind that law in this verse, it was necessary to insert the article so as to express it properly.

The different views of this subject will most clearly appear by quoting from two of the most distinguished of modern exegetical scholars, their view of the same passage of Scripture, namely, Gal. ii, 19: *ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα Θεῷ ζήσω.* Ellicott translates, "For I truly through the law died to the law," etc. He remarks in exposition:

> (1.) Νόμος in each case has the same meaning. (2.) That meaning, as the *context* requires, must be the Mosaic law (verse 16), no grammatical arguments founded on the absence of the article having any real validity.

On the other hand Lightfoot translates, "I through law died to law." His view is:

> The written law—the Old Testament—is always *ὁ νόμος*. At least, it seems never to be quoted otherwise. Νόμος without the article is "law," considered as a principle, exemplified no doubt chiefly and signally in the Mosaic law, but very much wider than this in its application. In explaining the passage, therefore, we must seek for some element in the Mosaic law which it had in common with law generally, instead of dwelling on its special characteristics as a prophetic and typical dispensation.

A difference in interpretation so marked as that just shown could not exist if there were a grammatical law for the use of the article which had universal acceptance. Such agreement does not now exist, and until it takes place we cannot have a settled exegesis of many passages of Scripture, especially those

in which the article is omitted. The best putting of the use of the Greek article is that of Mr. T. S. Green, in his "Grammar of the New Testament," page 6. His language is:

> In that form of language which has been taken as a standard, the article is prefixed to a word, or combination of words, when there is intended to be conveyed thereby, in the particular instance, an idea already, in some degree, familiarized to the mind: it points to a previous familiarity, real or presumed. Definiteness attaches to the general idea which is conveyed by a word or combination of words, when the idea is to be identified with one which has either been already impressed upon the mind or is suggested by another that has been so impressed; and the article, as a sign of this identification, is closely and consequentially, but not primarily, connected with definiteness.

It will be seen that this definition of the meaning of the article differs materially from that ordinarily given by grammarians, and that Winer maintains the old idea. The point made by Green, however, can be maintained, as he has done by numerous instances, both in the classics and in the New Testament writings. When ὁ νόμος is employed we understand by it the well-known law, the law of Moses, familiar to those to whom the Scriptures were originally written.

It does not follow, however, that because the article always means that which is familiar to the speaker or writer, the same is not true sometimes of the employment of the same word without the article. It often occurs that, in ordinary and colloquial style, the article is omitted even when referring to that which is understood to be well known and familiar. We need not hesitate to admit that, in a number of instances in Paul's epistles, Paul uses the word νόμος without the article for the Mosaic law, but with a breadth of meaning which would be lost if the article were inserted.

It becomes, then, a matter of considerable moment what is the significance of the absence of the article. This point has not been so carefully treated by grammarians as it deserves. Its absence is explained in various ways, and meanings have been assigned to its omission growing out of the requirements of the passage, but a law of meaning does not appear to have been laid down with precision. In this connection a remark of Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., in his notes on the Epistle to the Romans, (ii, 25,) is worthy of attention: "The absence of the

article directs attention to the *quality*, *nature*, *character*, etc., of the thing spoken of, not to its mere substance." In further application of it to νόμος, he says:

> The presence of the article would have restricted to the Jewish law, in particular, that which without the article is general in its application, however deeply tinged with Jewish thought and experience.

With the conception, then, that the *presence* of the article indicates that the thing mentioned is *well known* both to the reader and the writer, and that its *absence* calls attention to the word with which it is connected in its *qualitative aspect*, we have a sufficient groundwork to proceed with the inquiry into the usage of the New Testament, especially of Paul's writings, in its relation to νόμος. At least, we have secured a working hypothesis which can be tested by application to a number of passages where this word is employed.

We will take for consideration some of the passages mentioned in Winer's Grammar (Moulton's translation, p. 152) to show that νόμος without the article means the Mosaic law. Let it also be borne in mind that no exception is here taken to the statement that it does sometimes mean the Mosaic law, even without the article; but it is here maintained that when the article is absent from νόμος, the Mosaic law is not the exclusive or main idea in the writer's mind, and which he desires to convey to his readers. We will begin by a passage which indicates Paul's stand-point, one in which the νόμος without the article is referred by him to the Mosaic law—Phil. iii, 6. It is well known that the law of Moses most naturally occurred to Paul's mind, seeing that it formed an essential part of his early training. He was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; . . . as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless." His thought had usually turned to the law in which he had been reared, and this gave color to his modes of expression. We note that the νόμος is without the article in both places in the above passage, and yet the revisers translate it *the law* in both instances. Ellicott, with his tendency to undervalue the force of the article, says: "Νόμος is here the 'Mosaic law;'" and he translates, "*in respect* of the law (of Moses) a Pharisee." Again, in the next clause which employs the word, δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν

νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος, he translates, "righteousness that is in the law," and adds, "All limitations of *νόμος*, for example, 'specialia instituta,' 'traditionem patrum,' are completely untenable." The meaning of the apostle seems rather to be, *legally a Pharisee;* and, as touching *legal righteousness*, *blameless.* He was not a Pharisee according to the law of Moses, and he proves sin against all men so far as keeping the law perfectly was concerned. He is here speaking of law in its broader aspects, and hence the article is properly omitted.

The Epistle to the Romans opens a broad field of investigation as to the employment of *νόμος* with and without the article. Rom. ii, 12, 13: "For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and as many as sinned under law shall be judged by law; for not the hearers of the law shall be just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." It will at once be recognized that the late revisers have omitted the article before law, in conformity with the Greek, whereas the *Textus Receptus* inserts the article in every case. It is evident that Paul did not omit the article without reason. The law in the apostle's mind was, no doubt, the Mosaic law; but if that had been mainly, or solely, in his mind, he could readily have inserted the article, and his meaning would have been clear. By its omission he indicates that the word "law" is applied in its qualitative aspect, such a thing as law, "by the application to this case of the rule laid down for them in any particular revelation under which they live."* He is speaking of any law which they regard as a duty. The Mosaic law was fundamentally the law in connection with which his argument originated; but his mind here takes a broader range, and he affirms of all law that which he has elsewhere affirmed of obedience to the law of Moses. The context demands this broader view. He affirms "wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; but glory and honor and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek: for there is no respect of persons with God." He follows it by the great principle, that men shall be judged by the law under which they are placed, and that it is universally true that "not the hearers of a law are just before God,

* Vaughan, *l. c.*

but the doers of a law shall be justified." Here clearly the omission of the article indicates this broader application of the word "law." With the article inserted, as it is in the *Receptus*, this broader meaning, which was evidently in the apostle's thought, is excluded from the view of the reader, whereas its absence illumines the whole reasoning of the apostle.

The next passage which Winer applies to the Mosaic law without the article is Rom. ii, 23. We insert the Greek from the late revisers' text: *ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν Θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις.* The revisers' translation is: "Thou who gloriest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonorest thou God?" It will be seen that the revisers insert the article in the first clause before "law" when it is not in the Greek. They felt, however, the force of its absence, and in the margin, as an alternative rendering in that clause, read *a law* for *the law*. This is certainly one of the strongest cases for the use of *νόμος* without the article meaning the Mosaic law which can be found in all Paul's writings. Two explanations of the absence of the article with the first *νόμος*, and its presence with the second, are possible. One is to give to the first *νόμος* the broader meaning, law in general, a law, and to regard the second article as inserted to call attention to that law, by way of emphasis: "Those who gloried in a law, by the transgression of that law dost thou dishonor God?" (Vaughan's translation.) The other is to regard both as referring to the Mosaic law, but regarding the absence of the article with the first *νόμος* as showing its qualitative aspect. "Thou that gloriest in *law*," meaning thereby not in the possession of *the law*, but thou that gloriest in *such a thing* as law. Paul, for the moment, allows the Mosaic law to sink from his mind, and calls attention to their legal glorying by the omission of the article. He then returns in the next clause to the Mosaic law, of which he is at this point specially treating. It does not seem possible that Paul should use the same word with and without the article in such close juxtaposition with precisely the same meaning. If, however, the principle with which we started is accepted, namely, that the presence of the article marks that which is familiar and well known, and its absence gives a broader and qualitative aspect to the thing with which it is connected, we

have a clear elucidation of these passages without resort to any arbitrary employment of it.

The next passage cited by Winer in support of his proposition is Rom. iii. 31: *νόμον οὖν καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ νόμον ἱστῶμεν.* Here again the revisers waver as to the article, translating *the law* in the text, but inserting *law* in the margin: "Do we then make the law of none effect through faith? God forbid: nay, we establish the law." Neither *νόμος* in this verse has the article, and yet in both cases they insert it in the translation. The reason for it is, no doubt, because both before and immediately following the apostle is writing of the law of Moses; hence, at first view it seems out of harmony to introduce law in general so abruptly. It must not be forgotten, however, that Paul abounds in abrupt transitions, and such a change, from the special to the general, and conversely, ought not to be a matter of surprise. There is no necessity for that explanation here. The verse is introduced by the post-positive particle *οὖν*, which, according to Hadley, ("Grammar," sec. 886,) means "*therefore, consequently*," stronger than *ἄρα*. It may fitly be regarded, therefore, as the conclusion of a previous discussion and broader in its application. He means by the omission of the article to say, "Do we, then, by means of *the* faith which we preach as necessary to salvation, make *law* of no account? On the contrary, we by this very means establish law." He thus speaks of all law as a revelation of duty, and not exclusively of the law of Moses.

Rom. iv, 13–15, is another passage cited to prove the use of *νόμος* without the article to mean the Mosaic law: *Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου, ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως· εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμοι, κεκένωται ἡ πίστις, καὶ κατήργηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία· ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται*, etc. Here again the revisers insert the article when it is not in the Greek: "For if they which are of *the* law be heirs, faith is made void," etc. Suppose, however, we translate literally, "If they which are of *law* be heirs, faith is made void," how much more expressive the passage becomes. It makes a direct antithesis between law and faith as a ground of heirship. In the apostle's argument there were but two grounds of heirship—works and faith. He is here treating of great fundamental principles, the antagonism between works and faith

as a basis of salvation, and hence *νόμος* is most properly without the article, and the apostle here has no direct reference to the Mosaic law. The last clause of the fourteenth verse, however, does insert the article with marked significance. *The* law—the Mosaic law with which you are so familiar—worketh wrath. He proves the general law which he is maintaining by the specific case of the law of Moses. Thus the absence and presence of the article are rich in significance, as is shown in the fifteenth verse, where the article is again omitted: *οὗ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις.* "But where there is no law, neither is there transgression." A more literal rendering is, "But where a law is not, neither is there transgression." It does not mean where the law of Moses is not there is no transgression, but where law does not exist transgression does not exist. Here again the absence of the article has a clear significance.

Rom. vii, 1, is also cited as a proof that the absence of the article does not invalidate the use of the *νόμος* for the Mosaic law: *Ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, (γινώσκουτι γὰρ νόμον λαλῶ,) ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριείει τόῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον Χρόνον ζῇ.* The revisers translate: "Or are ye ignorant, brethren (for I speak to men that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man for so long time as he liveth." The first *νόμος* is without the article, but is translated *the law*, with an alternative rendering in the margin, namely, *law*. How accurately the absence of the article indicates precisely what Paul is intending to say! He is apparently commending their readiness to understand his argument, and he incidentally remarks, "I am speaking to men conversant with law." They are therefore prepared to comprehend the illustration he is about to use. The absence of the article seems to be as necessary for the thought of the apostle with the first *νόμος* as its presence is with the second. He shows the accuracy of his writing in this delicate use of the article.

A passage from First Corinthians will further illustrate that there is a distinction between *νόμος* with and without the article more clearly marked than is admitted by Winer. 1 Cor. ix, 20: *Καὶ εγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω· τοῦς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσκω.* The revisers translate: "And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to them

that are under the law as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law." It is to be observed here that the article is not employed at all in this verse in connection with *νόμος*, and yet the revisers have inserted it in every case. It will also be observed that in each instance *νόμος* is directly preceded by a preposition. "Middleton on the Greek Article," chap. vi, sec. 1, regards the omission of the article following prepositions as anomalous. His assumption is that following a preposition the noun becomes anarthrous. It is well to examine this, for if it be so, an element of uncertainty is thereby added to the exegesis of important passages. Middleton says, in this same connection: "Hence it is evident that the absence of the article in such instances affords no presumption that the nouns are used indefinitely. Their definiteness or indefiniteness, when they are governed by prepositions, must be determined on other grounds."

This anomaly, if it be one, in linguistic criticism should only be allowed under the pressure of great exegetical necessity, and hence the inquiry may properly be raised whether a more correct explanation will not follow a literal rendering, assuming that the presence and absence of the article are intentional. Let us first look at the passage last mentioned: "And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews." That much of the translation is literal; that is, it is *τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις* in the first clause and *Ἰουδαίους* in the last. He means to say that he became to the Jews a Jew, that he might gain Jews. The article indicates that he refers to the well-known Jewish people, and its absence to such as are Jews. The absence indicates the qualitative aspect which is in his mind.

The view of the revisers' translation seems to be that the next clause is co-ordinate with the first and adds nothing to the thought, for they translate, "To them that are under the law, as under the law," etc. Who were those who regarded themselves as under the Mosaic law but the Jews? Is it not more in consonance with the apostle's meaning to regard the article as not omitted because of the preposition which precedes it, but because he has advanced beyond the thought of the Jews, and is now considering all that are under law, whether they be Jew or Gentile. Was it not the practice of Paul to eat with the

tiles, and thus, by conforming to their customs in things indifferent, gain them for Christ? Stanley ("Notes on Corinthians," *l. c.*) regards those under law as "Jewish proselytes, or Jewish converts to Christianity," while Alford ("Commentary," *l. c.*) takes another view. He says:

> These again are not Jewish converts, nor proselytes, who would not be thus distinguished from other Jews, but are much the same as Ἰουδαῖοι, only to the number of them the apostle did not belong, not being himself under the law, whereas he was naturally a Jew.

He affirms that the ἄνομοι are the heathen. Far more reasonable are the remarks on the passage in Olshausen's Commentary:

> It is best to regard the Jews and the ἄνομοι, that is, Gentiles, as the leading contrasts, and the οἱ ὑπὸ νομον, *those under law*, as a modification of the Gentiles. By the ἄνομος cannot be meant one who acknowledges absolutely no law; such a one would be designated ἀσεβής, *impious*, but merely one to whom the Mosaic ceremonial was unknown.

This view gives to the absence of the article a distinct meaning, and removes largely the embarrassment in the exegesis of the passage.

This distinction will appear in connection with υἱος in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Heb. i, 1, the revisers translate as follows: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in *his* Son," etc. The margin reads *a Son*. The Greek is ἐν υἱῷ, *in a Son*. The revisers again show their uncertainty by placing *his Son* in the text and *a Son* in the margin. The insertion of *his* before Son is entirely gratuitous, for although the personal pronoun may be a proper translation of the definite article, as Acts xvii, 28, τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, "for we are also *his* offspring," it cannot be claimed as the proper translation of its omission. This passage is one where the explanation of the omission of the article as an anomaly will not answer. The importance of this passage, and its bearing on the doctrine of the omission of the Greek article after prepositions, will justify the insertion of Alford's observations, as found in his Commentary, on the phrase ἐν υἱῷ.

The omission (of the article) would not at any time surprise us after a preposition; but here, after ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, we should expect as an antithesis, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ. Hence we must seek a reason beyond that usual idiomatic omission. Emphatic position will often dispense with the article, and this may be alleged here. But even thus we do not get at the final cause. If the position of υἱῷ, wherever anarthrous, is emphatic *to this extent*, it must be for some reason still latent. Some have suggested official denomination, making υἱός into a quasi-proper name. But this again is only an introduction to the final reason. *Why* is such an anarthrous name here used as designating our Lord? Now, then, we come to the word itself, as we must do in all such cases, for an account of the idiom. And that account here seems to be found in the peculiar and exclusive character of that relation to God which υἱός expresses. We may say that Jesus is "the Son of God;" by this is definitely expressed the fact, and the distinction from other sons of God implied: but we may also say that he is "Son of God;" and we thus give the predicate all fullness of meaning and prominence, and even more emphatically and definitely express the exclusive character of his sonship.

In Alford's view the breadth of the predication involved in the omission of the article affirms the exclusiveness of Christ's sonship.

The difficulty in the translation of this phrase is shown by Peile in his Annotations on Hebrews, in a note on this verse. He says:

Ἐν υἱῷ, improperly rendered in our English version "by *His* Son," cannot (although nouns, even when most definite, may be anarthrous after a preposition) have been intended by one who had just before written ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, to convey *by the Son*, assumed to be known by that name. . . . We understand ἐν υἱῷ, ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων to express the Eternal God's *Personal Revelation of himself, as* in man's form and on man's behalf standing in the relation of Son unto himself.

It is sufficient for our purpose to show from these scholarly authorities that they distinctly recognize, what is apparent on the surface, that it will not do to trust the rule of the frequent omission of the article after prepositions, as laid down by Middleton and Winer, in a crucial case of exposition. The idea of the sonship of Christ runs through the whole passage, a sonship that involves divinity. The writer in this series of wonderful thoughts contrasts the communication of the old covenant by τοῖς προφήταις, the well-known prophets whom he need not mention, with the new Revelation made known not

in prophetic messengers, but in "*a Son*, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the world." Here again the absence of the article indicates the qualitative aspect under which the Son is viewed. It is in his character as Son, and not as servant or prophet or apostle, that he speaks to men from God.

The remarks which have been made have been confined chiefly to the use of the article with *νομος*. That word seems to be the most embarrassing. Winer takes pains to give the specific passages in which *νομος* without the article is employed for the Mosaic law. We have already indicated that is a disputed question, and cannot be disposed of without extensive and careful investigation. Prof. Moulton, in his note to Winer, says: "There is still difference of opinion on the proper interpretation of *νόμος* without the article." It has been shown that the revisers had no rule on this point, but that they often translated it as if it were present when it was not in the Greek, but did not omit it when it was present. They were careful, also, to place the literal meaning in the margin, so that the difficulty might be manifest, and the reader might take his choice. Their translations are cited, not to call in question their high scholarship, which is beyond criticism, but to show that the scholarship of the world is divided on this point, and to raise the question whether there are not rules which govern the article as well as other parts of speech.

There is a necessity for more definiteness in this matter arising out of the very nature of language and the necessity for an accurate understanding of its meaning. Arbitrary or traditional interpretation should, as far as possible, yield to fixed grammatical laws. It is safe to affirm that there is no part of linguistic expression which cannot be reduced to scientific rules, if men have the patience and insight to discover what they are. The laws are there; it is the work of the student to find them.

The words of Alford on Heb. i, 2, already referred to, are worthy of consideration in this connection. He refers to the language of Prof. Stuart to refute it:

> So far is this or any other usage of the article from being arbitrary, as Stuart here maintains, I will quote his sentence for a caution to tyros: "After all the rules which have been laid down

respecting the insertion or omission of the article in Greek, and all the theories which have been advanced, he who investigates for himself, and is guided only by *facts*, will find not a little that is arbitrary in the actual use of it. The cases are certainly very numerous where Greek writers insert or reject it at pleasure." The direct contrary of this assertion is the fact, and cannot be too much impressed on every Greek Testament student. The rules respecting the article are rigid, and are constantly observed; and there is no case of its omission or insertion in which there was not a distinct reason in the mind of the writer—usually, but not always, discernible by the patient and accurate scholar among ourselves.

To this view scholarship must come, and out of such investigations are to come some of the most precious thoughts of the New Testament.

It is fitting that we should now turn attention to some considerations favoring the view of the article thus far insisted on. As already seen, it gives a clear and consistent explanation to a large number of passages of Scripture which without it are confused and almost contradictory. In order to a harmony of revelation there must also be a harmony of interpretation. This was one of the strong points made for the late revision. They made uniform laws for the guidance of all, and they insisted on giving the same meaning to words and tenses so far as practicable. It is interesting to notice how often the necessities of translation led them to discard their own rules, especially in the translation of the tenses and the meaning of prepositions. The rules, however, were necessary, and the influence of them of unspeakable importance in securing an accurate translation. When laws are rigidly followed, and all books are subjected to the same analysis as to language, the harmonies and the discrepancies at once appear.

The accurate translation of the article gives a train of thought more in accord with the breadth of the views of Paul. Whoever would study Paul carefully must remember that he was the apostle of breadth. He it was that conceived of the Gospel most fully in its relations to all mankind. It was as the apostle to the Gentiles that he magnified his office. He regards his call to preach to them a grace. It is natural, therefore, to expect that he would have a broader terminology than some of the others. The word *νόμος*, in its relation to the article, affords one of the best illustrations of this breadth. He employs the

word without the article more frequently than any of the others. While the danger to the Jew lay in his dependence upon the Mosaic law for justification, he recognizes the danger of the Gentile in dependence upon his self-righteousness also. He strips the mask from both, and shows the whole world guilty before God. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans he portrays the fearful condition of the heathen world, and in the second the equally wicked condition of the Jewish world, even greater in its guilt, because they were in the possession of the published revelation of God. What is the conclusion which he reaches? It is found in Rom. iii, 20: *διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας*: "Because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for through the law cometh the knowledge of sin." Such is the translation of our late revisers, inserting the article in both cases before "law" where it is not in the Greek. Such has been the uniform usage of our translators, Wiclif and Tyndale and Rheims; in brief, it has been assumed that Paul meant the Mosaic law only.

Does not this view do injustice both to the breadth of the apostle's views and to his argument? What is meant by his strong statement of the iniquities of the Gentile world? What is meant by his terrible arraignment of Judaism? Was it not to reach a conclusion vital to his discussion, namely, to show that the whole world was guilty before God? Now, why does he assume that the whole world is guilty before God? The verse under consideration is the answer. I use the language of our recent revisers' translation, omitting only the article, which, according to the view here advocated, is inserted without authority: "Because by works of law shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for through law cometh the knowledge of sin." The omission of the article in the translation following its omission in Greek gives a clearness and application to the reasoning which the insertion of it cannot give. How incongruous to affirm that the whole world was guilty before God, and then give as a reason that by the deeds of the law of Moses no flesh shall be justified in his sight! What he declares is, that by works of law, either the revealed law or the law written in the heart, no flesh can be justified. It is a universal proposition, Law cannot justify; its primary and

necessary function in respect to all sinners, is to produce a knowledge of sin.

The next verse confirms this view. I quote again from the revisers' translation: "But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." A reference to the Greek will show that the first *νόμος* is without the article, while the second *νόμος* retains it. The translation, however, inserts it in both cases. The omission of the article makes the meaning clear. "But now 'apart from law,'" in any law whatever, "a righteousness of God hath been manifested;" it is a righteousness whose essential condition was faith and not works.

Until one has entered into a comprehension of Paul's accurate use of the article, he is to a certain extent hindered in his comprehension of the world-wideness of the apostle's thought. It gives a revelation of the breadth of his views the more effective because it seems so incidental.

It would be too much to claim for the general principle here advocated that it will explain all cases. It is safe, however, to assume that when a law can be found which will explain nine out of ten of the instances, it may well be regarded as a safe guide. There are elements which enter into the composition of New Testament Greek, which must not be overlooked in an investigation like this. The old controversy between the purists and Hebraists has passed away, and no one will venture now to claim for the Greek of the New Testament an exact conformity to classic usage. It is an idiom, however, which has assumed a definite form and which has become closely studied, owing to the successful researches of Winer as seen in his very valuable Grammar.

The influence of Hebrew on New Testament diction, though not so great as the early Hebraists claimed, is yet considerable, and affected the article as well as the other elements of language. Care must be taken, therefore, to discriminate between a usage which is purely Greek and one which had its origin in Hebrew. In this particular the influence of the Septuagint needs to be carefully traced. The genealogies in the first chapter of Matthew afford an illustration of its influence. The article is omitted with the subject, and inserted with the object. Matthew i, 2: *Ἀβραὰμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰσαάκ· Ἰσαὰκ δὲ*

ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. This use of the article is found in the genealogy in the Septuagint, to wit, the fifth of Genesis. There are also phrases, idiomatic usages, which are readily recognized in all languages, but which do not come under any general law. It is sufficient if there can be found a general significance to its presence or absence which may always be recognized by the careful student.

We have considered thus far the writings of Paul, who was skilled in classical Greek, as shown by his quotations, and whose style would be formed on Greek rather than on the Hebrew models. The Gospel of John may show us how carefully the article was employed by a Palestinian Jew whose theology is based upon the Old Testament, who seems to have known Hebrew, whose language though Greek is strongly tinged with a Hebrew vocabulary and Hebrew modes of expression. (See Plummer on St. John. Introduction, p. 28.)

The commentator just mentioned calls attention to the significance of the article as used by John, who would not be supposed to be as accurate in this regard as those more conversant with classical Greek. John v, 35, has been literally translated by the revisers with added force: "He was the lamp that burneth and shineth," a great improvement over our authorized: "He was a burning and a shining light." John was the lamp, not the light. He was not merely *a* lamp, but *the* lamp, the well known herald of the Messiah, whose lamp was kindled at the true light, which was Christ. How much the rendering of the article adds to the force of the thought!

In John vii, 51, notice the force of the article with *νόμος* in calling attention to the special Jewish law with which they were familiar: "Doth *our law* (*ὁ νόμος*) judge a man, except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth?" The translation of the article by the possessive pronoun gives a good rendering of the force of the article and is material to the argument. Again, John xii, 36: "While ye have the light, believe on the light, that ye may become sons of light." The absence of the article with "light" and "sons" in the last clause is noteworthy. It teaches the close relationship between the light and him who believes on it. It shows the qualitative aspect of the predicate. A similar force is given by the absence of the article in John xvi, 21, when "She remembereth no more the anguish, for the

joy that a man is born into the world." A man (*ἀνθρωπος*), such a being as a man, a human being, is born into the world. It is the characteristic of that which is born which is thereby indicated rather than the birth of the individual child.

There is another realm of New Testament expression which shows the importance of the proper understanding of the force of the article, namely, those which bear upon the names given to our Saviour, especially in his relationship to God. As an example of the presence and absence of the article in close connection take Eph. i, 3: *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, etc. Revisers' translation: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Ellicott translates: "God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is unnecessary to discuss the law of the grammarians on the repetition of the article with nouns joined by the conjunction *καί*, as the object is to show the value of the absence and presence of the article. It is a rule of classic Greek that *Θεός* with the article means the particular God, but without it divinity in general. Here Paul recognizes by the article with *Θεός* the personal God. But is the next word the same or a different person, and why is the article wanting with the word Father, if it refers to the same person? Has not the noun *πατήρ* a predicative force, and makes thereby a strong affirmation concerning God, namely, that the relation to our Lord Jesus Christ is that of Father? The relationship of God to Christ is that of father and son, not that of master and servant.

Such a rendering is applied by T. S. Green (Grammar, p. 48) to John i, 14: *δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.*

> In this place *μονογενοῦς* is virtually a substantive; and it is also clear that the language might have been *τοῦ μονογενοῦς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός*. Now, there can here be hardly any plea of license, and therefore the absence of the article is designed, and the object is to give the most effective expression of the characteristic circumstances of the mission of Jesus, standing in unapproachable contrast to that of all other divine messengers, such, in fact, as is best expressed in the words of the parable, *ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν*. . . . (Mark xii, 6), "And we beheld his glory, glory as of an only-begotten one come forth from a father, and, as such, contrasted with a mere servant, like Moses or the prophets."

If a further example of this mode of interpreting the absence of the article is needed, it will be found in John vii, 45: "The

officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees." Pharisees being without the article shows that the latter involves some explanation of the former, or involves some predication concerning the chief priests. Plummer (comment on passage) says: "The omission of τούς before Φαρισαίους shows that the chief priests and Pharisees are now regarded as one body."

At this point we may pause, the object of this paper being to set forth an exposition of the Greek Article in the New Testament, not novel, but which has not yet taken its place among the accepted theories on that subject. The recognized view is represented by Winer in his incomparable "Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament Greek." It is also proper to add, that the majority of interpreters have not explained the force of the omission of the article, especially with νόμος, as here advocated. That so many eminent biblical scholars have employed the more literal mode of rendering it, and that our late revisers have not entirely discarded it, but have shown how often the exact translation gives clearness and force to the argument, may be employed to prove at least that the tendency of modern scholarship is in the direction here indicated. Whatever may be the conclusions reached, the careful investigation of the minutest forms of expression in the Holy Scriptures must be a matter of permanent interest to all lovers of the truth as it is in Jesus, the Saviour.

It has thus been attempted to place before the reader some observations on important passages of Scripture growing out of the laws governing the Greek article. As shown in the beginning, it is a matter which is regarded by some of the best grammarians as beyond the reach of our investigations, and that we must therefore be content with a few general principles. If we must come to that conclusion let it only be after constant application to the study of the word of God. It will be found generally that the nearer we come to literalness in our interpretations, the more we aim to be governed by what the word says, and not by what we think it ought to say, the more consistent will be our interpretations with each other, and the more surely, with the divine guidance, may we attain the "mind of the Spirit."

Art. IV.—REV. SYDNEY SMITH.

Edward Everett, writing of his "delightful visit" at Combe-Florey, the rectory of Rev. Sydney Smith, said: "The first remark I made to myself after listening to Mr. Sydney Smith's conversation was, that if he had not been known as the wittiest man of his day he would have been accounted one of the wisest." This epigrammatic observation is equivalent to saying that Mr. Smith's wit was so brilliant that it eclipsed his sagacity. His wise thoughts, of which his speech was by no means barren, were like small jewels incased in settings so large and so curiously wrought as to divert the observer's attention from the gems they were meant to display. Hence it came to pass that, as one of his admirers has recently remarked, his memory is kept green, not so much by his really "great services to rational freedom" as by his humorous sayings, many of which have become current coin in the speech of the reading world.

Perhaps there is a modicum of poetic justice in this. Mr. Smith resembled Democritus, the laughing philosopher of antiquity, of whom Juvenal said, that he laughed at the world whenever he stepped across his threshold. Smith did more, for his jocund laughter at men and things constantly rang out both within and without his threshold. And this sportive laughter was every-where contagious. All men enjoyed it and joined in it. But could they, on reflection, help suspecting that the weed of contempt grew close by the sources of those streams of amusing speech which flowed so constantly from his lips? That shrewd observer, Montaigne, remarks, that "things we laugh at are by that laughter expressed to be of no moment." How natural it was, therefore, that the wisdom of our modern Democritus being so lightly expressed, so apparently lacking in earnestness not to say sincerity, should float unheeded from the memories of men, and that he should be remembered more as a "remarkable buffoon" than as a reformer of many social abuses. Mr. Stuart J. Reid's new biography,* which aims to

* "A Sketch of the Life and Times of the Rev. Sydney Smith, Rector of Combe-Florey, and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. Based on Family Documents and the Recollection of Personal Friends." By Stuart J. Reid. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 20, 409. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1884.

bring the best side of Sydney Smith's character into bolder relief, may be accepted as evidence that the interest of the public in his career is still sufficiently strong to justify the publication of a fresh contribution to his memory. It may therefore be presumed that a brief outline of his history and a glance at his life-work may not be unacceptable to the readers of this Review.

The parents of Sydney Smith were neither rich nor titled. In allusion to his somewhat plebeian origin, he used to say in his jocose way "The Smiths never had any '*arms*,' and have invariably sealed their letters with their thumbs." His father, Mr. Robert Smith, inherited a small property which he was not sufficiently a man of affairs to increase. A vein of eccentricity ran through his character. He was odd and gloried in his oddity. He was nevertheless possessed of some rare intellectual qualities. He was fortunate in his marriage to a lady of French descent and Huguenot blood, who was endowed with both beauty of form and nobility of mind. From her Sydney Smith inherited his remarkable vivacity, geniality, and energy; and his father's oddity was reproduced, though considerably chastened, in those queerly expressed exaggerations which characterized his wit.

Sydney Smith's early life was not on the whole very enjoyable. He was born in 1771 at Woodford, Essex, the second of four brothers and one sister. In their childhood these precocious brothers preferred books and bookish discussions to the sports of the play-ground. When only six years old, Sydney was sent from home, first to a private school and then, with his younger brother Courtenay, to the Winchester Grammar School. In this latter institution he suffered extremely, as John Wesley did at the Charter-House, through lack of sufficient food and the rough semi-brutal conduct of his senior school-mates. To the day of his death the recollection of this abusive treatment roused him to sharp resentment. His progress in learning, however, was so rapid that he became captain of the school. He and his brother were so successful in winning prizes that the boys of their form wrote to the head master, saying, "We will not try for the college prizes if the Smiths are allowed to contend for them any more, because they always get them."

Sydney's scholarship was rated so high that he left Winchester captain of the school, and, as such, entitled to a scholarship and to a subsequent fellowship in New College, Oxford. Little is known of his career in that institution beyond the fact that in due time he gained his fellowship, and that, owing to his pecuniary disability to live after their expensive fashion, and to his pride of character, he associated very little with his fellow-students. Singularly enough, this young man, so uncommonly gifted with social qualities, formed no intimate college friendships. His wit, up to the time of his graduation, was an "unknown quantity," and respecting any special influences which may have contributed to the formation of his character during his college life no light is gathered.

Sydney Smith felt no call to the ministry of the Gospel. His inclination was for the bar, for which the character of his mind eminently fitted him. But his impecunious father, unable to furnish the means necessary to his study of the law, insisted that he should enter the Church, saying, with blunt sternness, "You may be a college tutor or a parson." Not choosing to be a tutor, and seeing no other opening, Sydney, after much hesitation, consented to enter the Church, was ordained, and, having no wealthy patron to present him to a desirable Church living, was forced either to half starve on the five hundred dollars per annum derived from his fellowship, or to accept the curacy of an insignificant parish at Nether Avon, a mean hamlet situated in the midst of the solitude of Salisbury Plain.

Alas, that such a man should be forced into such an uncongenial situation! A lover of natural beauty, yet placed in a spot naked of every thing that gives charm to a landscape; a tolerably ripe scholar compelled to live among peasants whose mental stolidity was only exceeded by the sterility of the surrounding plains. A man made for society immured in a "spot of dull stagnation," and shut out from association with intelligent and cultivated minds; an ambitious man driven by stress of circumstances to minister to one of the starvation parishes of a rich National Church; a man of the world, professing no conviction of ministerial duty, reluctantly undertaking the care of souls! Such was the unpromising situation of this brilliant man at his first entrance into public life. He was somewhat in the position of Swift's Gulliver among the pygmies of

Lilliput, bound with the rigid cords of circumstances, which, notwithstanding his inborn strength, he was unable to burst asunder. No wonder he wrote, after being fairly settled there, "Nothing can equal the profound, the immeasurable, the awful dullness of this place, in which I lie dead and buried, in hopes of a joyful resurrection in the year 1796."

But as every desert has its oasis, so did this dreary parish afford one alleviation to the situation of our wrongly placed curate. Mr. Hicks Beach, the squire of Nether Avon, was a gentleman and a man of culture, who enjoyed his pastor's spicy after-dinner talks in his drawing-room on Sunday afternoons. The sparks from the curate's wit soon warmed his generous heart into friendship for the poor Oxford scholar; and after enjoying his pleasant company during his occasional residence in the parish, and assisting him in his earnest endeavors to instruct the semi-barbarous rustics of the hamlet, he persuaded him to resign the curacy at the end of two years and to proceed with his eldest son, as his friend and tutor, to the University of Weimar in Saxony. Gladly bidding adieu to his unprofitable parish, the young parson prepared to start with his pupil-friend for that seat of learning; but hearing that Germany was disturbed by Napoleon's wars, he conducted the young man to Edinburgh. In that city Mr. Smith soon found congenial society, with an entrance to the path along which lay his way to literary celebrity, social distinction, and, finally, to Church preferment.

To Smith, now twenty-six years of age, this transition from the doleful dullness and rustic stupidity of Nether Avon to the literary circle composed of such brilliant talkers as Jeffrey, Horner, Brougham, Walter Scott, Archibald Murray, etc., must have been like the flight of a soul from Dante's purgatory into paradise. These men, destined soon to stand among the first of the age in their respective departments, were as yet far from being rich or arrogantly aristocratic. Hence the poverty of Smith was no bar to his acquaintance with gentlemen who were quick to take the measure of his mind and to enjoy the raciness of his witty conversation, which seems to have been developed for the first time by his contact with those great men. They received him cordially, and were soon bound to him by the tie of a friendship which proved lasting as their lives.

Long years after, Smith, writing of his experiences in Edinburgh, said: "When shall I see Scotland again? Never shall I forget the happy days passed there amidst odious smells, barbarous sounds, bad suppers, excellent hearts, and most enlightened and cultivated understandings." Yet, despite this friendship for Scotland, he never could help jesting over the foibles of its people, who were so slow to comprehend his jests that he sometimes said: "It requires a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding. Their only idea of wit . . . is laughing immoderately at stated intervals. They are so imbued with metaphysics that they even make love metaphysically. I overheard a young lady of my acquaintance, at a dance in Edinburgh, exclaim in a sudden pause in the music, 'What you say, my Lord, is very true of love in the *aibstract*, but'—here the fiddlers began fiddling furiously, and the rest was lost." This scene was probably little else than a joke, since he never hesitated to sacrifice truth on the altar of his wit, as he indirectly confessed when, speaking of his friend Francis Horner, he said, "Horner loved truth so much that he never could bear any jesting upon important subjects."

Mr. Smith, though still without pecuniary prospects sufficient to justify his marriage at the bar of prudence, ventured to become a Benedict two years after his arrival in Edinburgh. Miss Pybus, his chosen bride, had a small property, which he honorably insisted should be settled upon her and her children. His own resources were represented in six old silver tea-spoons, with which he one day rushed into the room, merry as a school-boy on a holiday, and flinging them into his bride's lap exclaimed, "There, Kate, you lucky girl, I give you all my fortune!" To these spoons a generous gift of £750 from the squire of Nether Avon for directing his son's studies was a timely addition to his meager resources. He also took two other pupils, from whom he derived a moderate income. But seeing no prospect in Edinburgh of gaining a position in the Church, he removed to London in 1803, where he hoped his gifts and attainments would procure him a presentation to some desirable Church living.

About a year before this removal he and his friends had originated the "Edinburgh Review," which was, as Coleridge subsequently remarked, the commencement of "an important

epoch in periodical criticism." It was first suggested by Smith to Jeffrey and Brougham when in the midst of a lively conversation in Jeffrey's modest parlor. Sydney half jestingly said, "Let us set up a Review!" This proposal, so lightly made, struck his companions so favorably that they accepted it at once with acclamation. He then laughingly suggested that the motto of the Review should be, "*Tenui Musam meditamur avena*" ("We cultivate literature on a little oatmeal"). This was objected to as being too truthful a confession of their actual poverty, and after some discussion they agreed to take a line from Publius Syrus, of whom Mr. Smith says, "none of us had read a single line." The motto, which is still retained, "*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*" ("The judge is condemned when the guilty is acquitted"). When Sir Walter Scott saw this pugnacious motto, he remarked, "The motto is as if the adventurers had hung out the bloody flag on their title-page."

The spontaneity of this singular beginning of the Review shows that the gentlemen concerned had previously thought of the need of such a publication. There was a "Monthly Review" in existence which was not critical, but only a collection of essays, poems, etc. The literary interests of the age demanded a periodical of a higher character—a Review aiming, as Smith well said, "to make men wise in ten pages who have no appetite for a hundred; to condense nourishment, to work with pulp and essence, and to guard the stomach from idle burden and unmeaning bulk."

Clearly perceiving this public need, these gentlemen soon set to work in good earnest to supply it. Mr. Smith appears to have taken the lead in the preliminary business arrangements, and in editing the first three numbers. Its first number appeared October 10, 1802, and caused a marked sensation in the literary world. The first edition of seven hundred and fifty copies was quickly bought by the hungry public. So also was a second. Other and larger editions quickly followed. It was a success from the start, and when it reached its third number it had a circulation of twenty-five hundred, which in later years rose to some twelve thousand copies.

Sydney Smith informally edited the first three numbers; but on his removal to London, Jeffrey was regularly chosen its

editor, with an allowance of two hundred and fifty dollars per number, and fifty dollars for each sheet of sixteen pages—about three dollars per page. After a few years the editor's allowance was doubled, and over five dollars per page was paid for contributed articles. Jeffrey was strongly supported in his editorship by Mr. Smith, who ranked first among his coterie of accomplished contributors, which included Francis Horner, Brougham, Mackintosh, Dr. Thomas Brown, and Hallam. Later on, that master of historical criticism, Macaulay, made its pages sparkle with his brilliant essays. Sydney Smith's articles probably did more to draw popular attention to the Review in its early years than those of any other writer, because he wrote on questions in which the general public was practically interested. He assailed social barbarisms, unjust laws, cruel usages, and ecclesiastical abuses with such clearness of statement, such telling appeals to common sense and conscience, and such satirical denunciations, that he won the ears of intelligent readers, capturing the convictions of all but those stubborn conservatives in Church and State who, unable to repel his attacks, were exasperated by his boldness.

But while Smith made the Review popular with the many, Jeffrey gave it greater strength and higher critical reputation than his chief contributor. Jeffrey had less wit, but nicer discrimination; less vivacity, but more correct literary taste; less transparency of statement, but profounder thought and richer, though not more abundant, illustration; less sympathy with the practical side of things, but superior intellectual power and brilliancy of style. Hence, while the Review owed very much of its first success to Smith, it was more indebted in the end to Jeffrey, because he wrote for the cultivated classes who loved literature of the highest qualities for its own sake, and upon whose patronage such reviews must finally depend.

On his arrival in London, Mr. Smith was warmly greeted by his friend Horner, whom he had playfully dubbed the "Knight of the Shaggy Eyebrows," by Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir James Mackintosh, and other kindred spirits, who knew and prized his worth. They did their best to introduce him to society, and to encourage his hopes. But his poverty pinched him so sorely at first that his noble wife felt compelled to take a pearl necklace, left her by her mother, then recently deceased,

and sell it to the jewelers for twenty-five hundred dollars. Besides his actual poverty, he had to face the discouragement arising from the freezing coldness, not to say avowed hostility, of the dignitaries in Church and State who were the dispensers of Church preferments. His connection with the Review, already universally admitted to be "uncommonly well done, and perhaps the first in Europe," was now known. But it stood, as Jeffrey said, on the two legs of literature and Whiggery; hence its literary and progressive opinions were obnoxious to the Tories, who were then in power. Had it been a feeble thing, conservative leaders might have despised it; but being a thing of power they feared it, and therefore treated Smith, its most outspoken advocate of reform, and a man considerably in advance of his age, with such studied neglect that, at first, he could rarely find a London pulpit in which to preach. After being admitted to one, he wrote with characteristic playful exaggeration: "I thought I perceived that the greater part of the congregation thought me mad. The clerk was as pale as death in helping me off with my gown, for fear I should bite him." This prejudice reached even to the throne. George III., after reading some of his papers, had said, "Mr. Smith is a very clever fellow, but he will never be a bishop" —an ominous prediction, which was too literally fulfilled.

But in spite of these chilling mists of prejudice Sydney did not despair. He had faith in himself, and his friends were eager to assist him. An introduction from his brother Robert to Lord Holland led to his intimate friendship with that noble man, happily described by Lord John Russell as "a man who won without seeming to court, instructed without seeming to teach, and amused without laboring to be witty." Henceforth Smith had free access to those famous assemblies at Holland House where many of the most eminent men of England were then accustomed to meet and to enjoy what Lady Holland describes as "the perfection of social intercourse, a sort of mental dram-drinking, rare as it was delightful." To this brilliant conversation Smith contributed not a little genuine Attic salt. His vivacity, independence, and sagacious observations, "weighted with wisdom and winged with wit," made him one of the most fascinating talkers in those literary assemblies. Superior to him in wealth and position as were

most of his associates there, he never failed to speak his mind freely and fully, and when the imperious mistress of Holland House, with a rudeness not uncommon with her, said to him, one evening, "Sydney, ring the bell," he replied, "Yes, and shall I sweep the room?" The fact that she remained his friend after this sharp, witty rebuff illustrates both the suavity and the self-respect of our poor young clergyman. Had there been the least touch of chagrin in his reply her proud ladyship would have become his life-long foe, since she was capable of being "a good hater."

But this social disposition did not prevent Mr. Smith, when at his own fireside, from wishing that "smiles were meat for children, or kisses could be bread." He needed a friend who could introduce him to clerical employment. Such a friend he soon found in the generous Sir Thomas Bernard, who chanced to hear one or more of the few sermons he had been permitted to preach in London. Charmed with his discourses, as Dugald Stewart had previously been in Edinburgh, this large-souled man secured him the appointment of "alternate evening preacher at the Foundling Hospital." His success in attracting a large congregation of fashionable people to the hitherto neglected church of this institution, led to his appointment as morning preacher at Berkeley and Fitzroy chapels alternately. His fame then spread, and, through Sir Thomas Bernard, he was invited to deliver two courses of lectures on Moral Philosophy at the Royal Institution. His original and witty method of treating this topic drew such crowds that, writing to Jeffrey, Smith could say: "My lectures, just now, are at such a high pitch of celebrity that I must lose a good deal of reputation before the public settles into a just equilibrium respecting them." From his preaching and from these lectures Smith derived an income barely sufficient, with the strictest economy, for his family needs; until, after struggling with poverty three years, a brighter day began to dawn. The death of Pitt, succeeded by the ministry of Grenville and Fox, put it into the power of his Whig friends to assist him. And then, at the request of Lord Holland, he was presented to the living of Foston-le-Clay, in Yorkshire. This parish, though not such a one as he would have chosen, was worth twenty-five hundred dollars a year, which he gladly accepted, not because it was

ample for his needs—for it was not—but because it was a certainty. For some time he left its duties to a curate, but when a change in the law respecting the residence of the clergy compelled him to either resign or reside within his parish, though reluctant to leave London, he chose to remove to his living, which he did in 1809. Writing to Jeffrey of this flitting to the country, he said, with characteristic quaintness, "I shall take to grazing as quietly as Nebuchadnezzar."

Before going thither, however, he had written a series of letters, under the assumed name of Peter Plymley, on the legal disabilities of the Irish Catholics, which had been to public opinion in England as a spark to gunpowder. Ireland, too, was moved to enthusiastic admiration. Since Swift, no Protestant clergyman had so ably pleaded in her behalf. Lord Murray, writing of these letters at a later period, said: "After Pascal's Letters it is the most instructive piece of wisdom in the form of irony ever written, and had the most important and lasting effects." Their authorship was kept secret a long time, but Smith had his reward in that his liberal sentiments, though a rank offense to the then dominant party, fell like fruitful seed into the popular mind. And when, in 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Bill swept those disabilities into the limbus of dead enactments, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his caustic pen had contributed not a little to that grand result. And since his death his opinions have found their crowning expression in the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church.

Mr. Smith was rector of Foston twenty-two years. His parishioners had not been favored with the labors of a resident minister for a hundred and fifty years, but only with the Sabbath services of a curate whose home was at York, some twelve miles distant. When Sydney arrived among them, driven in a four-wheeled carriage and dressed in broadcloth, they stared at him as at a visitor from a distant planet. Their ignorance of society, and, indeed, of almost every thing worthy to be called knowledge, appeared when he met the venerable parish clerk, who looked more ancient than the ruined parsonage house, and was the most important man in the village. After conversing awhile with his new minister, the wrinkled old man, with the natural shrewdness of a Yorkshireman, said, as he struck his crutch-stick on the ground: "Mees-

ter Smith, it often stroikes moy moind that people as comes frae London is such *fools*. But you, I see, are no fool!"

The clerk made no mistake in thus judging Sydney Smith, who was, indeed, no fool, but a man fully bent on acting the part, if not of an evangelical pastor, yet of a benefactor to his utterly uncultivated flock. It certainly is a pleasing picture to view this man, so eminently fitted by nature and education to shine as "a bright particular star" in the most refined social circles of the British metropolis, cheerfully going to work among those ignorant rustics, teaching them to improve their hard outward circumstances and to become wiser and better men. To do this he had first to become his own teacher in many things. To cultivate his glebe, consisting of three hundred acres, he had to study agriculture, cattle breeding, and dairy management. There being nothing but a mere hovel for a parsonage, he had, after considerable delay, to build a house with his own scanty means. In doing this he was his own architect, and while eschewing every principle of architectural beauty in its external appearance, he made its interior a model of coziness and convenience. To promote the material comfort of his parishioners he became their instructor in gardening and in matters relating to domestic economy. Hence this merry-hearted man, in addition to his own many family cares, was, as he described himself, "village parson, village doctor"—he had attended medical lectures in Edinburgh—"village comforter, village magistrate, and Edinburgh Reviewer."

That the rude inhabitants of Foston parish were benefited in mind and morals by Mr. Smith's labors is not to be questioned. His benevolence also won their affectionate regards. But concerning the spiritual results of his ministry his biographers are silent.

To most clergymen Foston would have proved the grave of their expectations of preferment. The ear of the great busy world could have caught no echoes from their humble and secluded pulpit. But this master of good-natured satire—this sagacious humanitarian—this prince of conversationalists—could not be hidden forever from public view even in the deep obscurity of that out-of-the-way spot. His fame as a witty talker and writer drew many distinguished visitors to his hospitable fireside, and, after the first six years of his rectorship, he

became a frequent and welcome guest in the mansions of the most aristocratic families in Yorkshire and Cheshire. Even some of his political opponents were attracted to him, and, despite his unflinching liberalism, became his personal friends. To know Sidney Smith was to love him. Lord Lyndhurst was one such friend, and, braving the resentment of his own party, he presented him, in 1828, with a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Bristol. His lordship did him still further service by procuring him an exchange of his Foston parish for Combe-Florey, near Taunton, from which beautiful location, really a valley of flowers, he could readily reach Bristol. In 1831, the Whigs being again in office, Lord Grey appointed him to a prebendal stall in St. Paul's, London, in exchange for the one he held in Bristol. This was his highest preferment. His liberal opinions, especially his witty attacks on abuses in the Church, no doubt prevented his appointment to a bishopric. Dean Swift's wit had cost him a similar loss, albeit it is supposed that, if Lord Grey's administration had continued longer than it did, that liberal statesman would have defied existing prejudices and offered Sydney Smith a miter.

Mr. Smith's duties as canon of St. Paul's requiring him to reside in London part of each year, he was able once more to indulge his fondness for cultivated society. Holding honorable place in the Church, being in easy circumstances and in the enjoyment of good health, he was never more animated and brilliant in conversation. "It is hardly possible," said Lord John Russell, "to describe his manner or convey the slightest idea of what his powers really were, in their most brilliant moments, to those who have never witnessed them. In his peculiar style he has never been equaled, and perhaps will not be surpassed." When Sydney said to a lady, "Ah, you flavor every thing; you are the vanilla of society," he paid her a compliment which, applied to himself, would have been sober fact.

About three years before his death, Mr. Smith became a rich man by the death of his younger brother, Courtenay, who left him a third of the large fortune he had acquired in India. It came too late, however, to do him much other service than to enable him to enlarge his benevolences. He grew old cheerfully, and retained to the last his habit of uttering

fantastic jests. In the autumn before his death he said: "I feel so weak both in body and mind that I verily believe if the knife were put into my hand I should not have strength or energy enough to stick it into a dissenter." And when nearing his end, and alluding to the spare diet ordered by his physician, he smilingly said to General Fox: "Ah, Charles! I wish I were allowed even the wing of a roasted butterfly." In his last hours he spoke very little. On the 22d of February, 1845, he quietly passed into the realm of the departed.

Macaulay, giving his estimate of Sydney Smith, said: "He is universally admitted to have been a great reasoner, and the greatest master of ridicule that has appeared among us since Swift." In calling him "a great reasoner," Macaulay does not imply that he was either a deep or an original thinker, since a great reasoner is not necessarily a deep thinker, nor is a profound thinker always a great reasoner. Every student of Sydney Smith's published sermons and of his seventy-six Review articles knows that he was neither original nor profound in thought, but that the distinguishing feature of his mind was its marvelously quick and clear perceptive power. To this faculty he was indebted for the rare transparency of his statements and his remarkable proficiency in "the art of putting things." His mind was logical, therefore he generally reasoned correctly; but, always excepting his witty forms of speech, he invented little or nothing. His articles mostly dealt with questions of fact, with social and legal barbarisms which offended both his strong sense of "justice and his uncommon common sense." Seizing on what was cruel or unjust in the then existing laws on poaching, on the trials of prisoners, on the exclusion of Romanists and dissenters from state offices, on the use of man-traps for the protection of property, etc., he first stated the facts in each case so clearly as to almost render argument unnecessary. He then proceeded to denounce the wrong with such pitiless invective, and to hold up its absurdity with such rasping, yet mirth-provoking satire, as almost compelled his readers to laugh at the latter and to feel indignant at the former. His favorite logical weapon was the *reductio ad absurdum*, and with his keen sense of the ridiculous he made it irresistible. He also treated prevailing barbarous usages, such as the cruelties practiced on boy chimney-

sweeps, etc., in the same way. Most of the evils he assailed being repugnant to men's sense of justice, and to the spirit of kindness which the great religious revival of the preceding century had begotten in the public mind, his strong reasoning, no doubt, contributed to their overthrow. Because of this vigorous use of his powers he deserves honorable place among the political and social reformers of his times.

Macaulay's estimate of his wit challenges a comparison between him and Dean Swift, whose claim to the first place in English literature as a witty writer few, if any, will dispute. He ranks Smith in this quality next to the irascible Dean. We are not disposed to dispute this claim, nor to compare him with Sheridan, Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Thackeray, or other modern men of wit. But it cannot be denied with truth that Smith's humor winds like a belt of light through his essays, and glimmers mildly in his sermons. And to cite Mr. Reid, "his talk was like a stream of fire-works, brilliant, incessant, and perfectly harmless. His wit, though less incisive and keen than that of Swift, was superior to it in its spirit. Swift's wit was bitter and malignant; Smith's, except when leveled at the evangelical party of his times, was genial and good-natured, the outflow of his heart, which was a perennial fountain of cheerfulness. It was also in the main free from coarseness and vulgarity, while Swift's was often coarse and even filthy. Smith's wit was often grotesque, as when anticipating the birth of his first child, he said, "I hope it will be a girl, and that she may be born with one eye that I may never lose her;" and as when at a dinner table, while discussing liberalism, he said, "I must confess I have one little weakness, one secret wish—I should like to roast a Quaker"—a jest intended to excite the wonder of a very simple-minded guest whose dullness prevented him from seeing that the mirthful parson was only jesting. Sometimes his wit was a shaft of keen, though good-natured, sarcasm, as when, while canon of St. Paul's, discussing the question in the Chapter of placing a wooden pavement round St. Paul's, he said with innocent gravity of tone and expression, "If my reverend brethren here will but lay their heads together the thing will be done in a trice." Exaggeration was also a large ingredient in his wit, as when on being told that his friend Jeffrey had been made Lord Advocate of Scotland he

remarked, in allusion to the judge's diminutive size, "His robes will cost him little; one buck rabbit will clothe him to his heels." One of his best witticisms flashed from his lips when, remarking on his many battles for reform, he said, "The whole of my life has passed like a razor—in hot water or a scrape." This was genuine wit, in that, by using two words in a double sense, he disclosed a relation between the uses to which a razor is put and the conditions under which his life had been passed, which no ordinary mind could have perceived, and which excited an emotion of pleased surprise because it was so unexpected and yet so real.

Smith's wit did not smell of the lamp, but was spontaneous, as all true wit must be. He was, as Leigh Hunt said of Rossini, "the genius of animal spirits," out of which his jests bubbled like water from a perennial spring, though he no doubt unconsciously cultivated it, by training his mind to look for occult relations between things apparently unrelated. Hence, he was always full of it, and it flowed from his lips as freely at his own fireside as in the gay assemblies at Holland House. Said Lord Macaulay, after spending a few days with him at Foston rectory: "He is not one of those show talkers who reserve all their good things for special occasions. It seems to be his greatest luxury to keep his wife and daughters laughing for two or three hours every day."

To his credit it must be said that, as a rule, Sydney used this gift in the interests of humanity and as "the vehicle of his wisdom."

> "Laughing to teach the truth—
> What hinders? As some teachers give to boys
> Junkets and knacks that they may learn apace."

His only serious abuse of this endowment was, as hinted above, his persistent tirades against spiritual religion, upon which he leveled his bitterest jokes, in doing which he illustrated the Greek proverb, "Mirth out of season is a grievous ill." Never, perhaps, did a clergyman more significantly illustrate Paul's assertion, that to comprehend spiritual things one must possess that "discernment" which is the exclusive possession of a "spiritually minded" man. Sydney Smith was not such a man. He did not profess to be one, but persistently denounced experimental piety,

believing it, as he said, "to be very possible to be a good Christian without degrading the human understanding to such trash and folly as Methodism." No doubt he was as good a Christian as mere belief in Christianity, without that trust which begets spiritual affections, can make a man. He was eminently moral, intellectually religious, observant of the forms of Christian worship, but apparently not the possessor of that inner spiritual life which is begotten and sustained by what Paul described as "Christ in you the hope of glory." On no other ground can one harmonize his bitter and even profane attacks on evangelical churchmen and dissenters with his honesty. And it is one of the creditable features of Mr. Reid's book that he not only does not defend Mr. Smith in this thing, but squarely censures him:

> He was a man who never approached certain subjects without displaying the fact that his mind was warped, so far as they were concerned, by invincible prejudice. But although he completely misunderstood the Wesleyan revival and grossly caricatured the splendid efforts of the non-conformist churches to awaken the religious enthusiasm of the people in the work of foreign missions, it cannot be questioned, in spite of such blemishes on his reputation, that his influence as a whole was given steadily and at much personal cost to the advocacy of the very principles of toleration which have now triumphed to such an extent that his own essays on the dissenters and their missionary schemes are little more than a magazine of exploded fallacies, and read like the record of an archaic period. Sydney Smith misunderstood the evangelical enthusiasm, and refused to separate the chaff of fanaticism from the wheat of self-sacrifice, but his sweeping tirades have long since been refuted by experience, and aggressive work in heathen lands forms now a recognized sphere of activity among Christians of every shade of conviction, and, judged by its fruits, is unassailable.

This is frank and honorable. It was due to the parties Smith so ruthlessly assailed, and does no injustice to the memory of Mr. Smith, who, despite his faults, will long be remembered for his humor, admired for his courage, respected for his abilities, and esteemed for his benevolence. Despite the inconsistency of his excessive, frolicsome, incessant humor with his clerical office, one cannot help loving the merry-hearted man. Neither can one who believes Christianity to be not only a doctrine and a code of ethics, but also a life having its seat in

the affections, help regretting that this highly gifted man, whom many "wise men loved, and even wits admired," did not add to his humane benevolence, his unquestionable moral courage, his obvious sincerity, his manly independence, and his unique literary ability the crowning glory of a "life hid with Christ in God." Had he done so, his reputation as a minister might have been equal to his fame as a reviewer.

Mr. Reid's sketch of Sydney Smith's "Life and Times" is very entertaining reading. As a biography, it is more complete, more satisfactory, and more artistically constructed than Lady Holland's "Memoirs." It gives a clearer view of Smith's happy domestic life, of his clerical labors, of his opposition to Puseyism, and of his influence on his times. While it does not do away with one's impression that, for a clergyman, he lived far too much in an atmosphere of merriment and laughter, and was too tolerant of worldly amusements, it nevertheless so portrays the serious work of his life, while keeping its playful side somewhat in the background, as to give him a more assured place in public opinion among men who have honestly and successfully wrought for the improvement of society. Mr. Reid has also given variety and value to his work by his graphic notes on many of the distinguished men with whom Sydney Smith was associated. It is a charming volume, a valuable addition to our biographical literature, and a desirable addendum to its subject's "Memoirs" by Lady Holland.

Art. V.—"THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS."

The question whether there is an order of bishops distinct from and superior to the order of presbyters has long agitated the Christian Church. This question is not devoid of real interest, and in view of the practical matters involved, it is a very important one, and especially so as to what views the Methodist Episcopal Church holds, and has held, upon the subject. In its ecclesiastical use, the word "order" has a very different meaning from the word "office." An "order" has certain rights and privileges that inhere in itself—are its *prerogatives*, and therefore are exclusive and inalienable; while an "office"

is endowed with only such *functions* as may be vested in it by the authority that created it. Nor is any one of any given order, if elected to an office within the scope and sphere of his order, thereby elevated to another and higher order.

No one who is familiar with the history and organism of the Methodist Episcopal Church will deny that it recognizes the clerical order, and also a distinction between order and office. Its one complete ministerial order is that of an elder; but it has also the office of presiding elder, thus practically discriminating between office and order. It recognizes the presiding elder as in office over other elders, but of the same order, and from this fact may be started the inquiry, whether the episcopacy is not of the same order, though superior in office to all other elders?

Our study of the question will be historical, and the main purpose will be to ascertain how the episcopacy was viewed by those who originated or first received it. Of the teaching of the Founder of Methodism, Dr. Abel Stevens gives the following summary:

> That Wesley, while he believed in episcopacy, belonged to that class of Episcopalians who contend that episcopacy is not a distinct "order" (in the usual technical or ecclesiastical sense of the term), but a distinct office, in the ministry; that bishops and presbyters, or elders, are of the same order, and have essentially the same prerogatives; but that for convenience some of this order may be raised to the episcopal office, and some of the functions originally pertaining to the whole order, as ordination, for example, may be confined to them; the presbyter thus elevated being but *primus inter pares*—the first among equals—a presiding officer.*

Before the war of the Revolution, the Rev. John Wesley was the governmental head of the Methodists in America as well as in Europe. He was the supreme authority, and his word was law. After the war, the American Methodists still acknowledged his authority, and in 1784 Mr. Wesley asserted it by appointing the Rev. Thomas Coke, D.C.L., who was a presbyter of the Church of England, and Francis Asbury, who was a preacher in America, to be Superintendents, as before he had appointed Thomas Rankin and Francis Asbury to be his General Assistants in directing the work of Methodism in America.

* Stevens's "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 221.

Mr. Wesley, though only a presbyter, set apart Dr. Coke to his designated work with prayer and imposition of hands. This act has been severely criticised and denounced as an absurdity, but the Rev. Richard Watson has justly remarked,

> This "absurdity" could not arise from the principle which Mr. Wesley had adopted, namely, that the orders were identical, and the censure, therefore, rests only upon the assumption that bishops and priests were of different orders, which he denied. He never did pretend to ordain bishops in the modern sense, but only according to his view of primitive episcopacy.*

His action in setting apart a presbyter to the work of a Superintendent could not, therefore, mean the conferring of a higher order. In appointing these Superintendents, Mr. Wesley did not mean to give up his authority over the American Methodists any more than he did when he previously appointed his Assistants. He now uses a different name—that of Superintendent—for his "Assistants," to whom he delegated larger powers, but it is evident that he still intended to control the Superintendents as formerly he had the Assistants.

Now that Mr. Wesley, a presbyter, considered himself superior to the Superintendents he had appointed, including Dr. Coke, whom he had solemnly set apart, shows that he did not deem a Superintendent to be of higher ministerial order than a presbyter, as manifestly it would have been inconsistent for one of a lower to exercise authority over one of a superior order. The fact that he appointed them, directed them, and himself set one of them apart, was an assertion of his superiority in authority, and, of course, his not inferiority of order. Acting under Wesley's orders, and armed with his commission as Superintendent, Dr. Coke came to America in the autumn of 1784. At Asbury's suggestion, the preachers in the United States were called together, and met in Conference on the twenty-fourth of December; and this Conference, which lasted about ten days, has been called "the Christmas Conference," on account of the season in which it convened.

Superintendent Coke presided, and his first official act was the presentation of Wesley's Circular Letter, which was read to the Conference. This letter was, so to speak, the charter under which the Conference acted. It declared in unmistakable

* Watson's "Life of Wesley," American edition, p. 247.

terms the parity of bishops and presbyters as to order, for in it Mr. Wesley said: "Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church convinced me many years ago that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain."

With such a declaration so explicitly made, the members of the Christmas Conference could not have supposed Wesley was giving them an episcopacy which was higher in order than the eldership. That there might be no doubt as to Mr. Wesley's relation to the American Methodists and their relation to him, this Conference formally adopted the following:

> During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready, in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands.

Having thus acknowledged him as the supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs, they must have accepted his doctrine as to the episcopacy.

The Christmas Conference, in acknowledging Wesley as supreme "in matters belonging to church government," recognized a presbyter as the chief authority in the Church. That they so recognized a presbyter as supreme, even over the Superintendents, shows that they did not esteem their superintendency or episcopacy an order above the eldership, for certainly they would not make one of an inferior order superior in authority to those of a higher order.

This Conference also made and placed in the Minutes this resolve: "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Superintendents," etc. As they accepted the very title Superintendent, which Wesley had given, as well as the men he had appointed, the only reasonable supposition is, that they accepted the superintendency in the sense Wesley intended; and, as his declaration was "that bishops and presbyters are the *same order*," they could not have understood that he was giving and they were receiving any officers of a higher order than that of presbyters; and, if so, they must have understood the word Superintendent as indicating, not an order, but an office.

This is further indicated by the fact that they voted Asbury to be a Superintendent before he had become either elder or

deacon. Both Coke and Asbury were Superintendents, so far as Mr. Wesley could make them such, without any vote of the Conference. This was not disputed by the Conference, and Asbury did not deny the legality and sufficiency of his appointment by Wesley alone, who was the supreme head of Methodism; but he desired the indorsement of the preachers whom he was to superintend. So he was unanimously chosen, and Coke was unanimously accepted by the Conference; which was also a recognition by the Conference of some kind or degree of authority over the case.

That Wesley should make a man not in orders a Superintendent, shows that he did not consider the position an order; and the action of the Conference in electing a man Superintendent before he was in orders, shows that the Conference did not look upon the superintendency as an order.

That they so understood it, in connection with the points already given, is plain, because they officially defined it to be an office, while they never speak of the *order* of bishops or superintendents. Jesse Lee, the first historian of American Methodism, and well-informed respecting all these transactions, says: "At this Conference we formed ourselves into a regular Church by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, making at the same time the episcopal office elective." * The early Minutes (1785) also use the same word "*office*," and speak of the position as the "episcopal *office*." Indeed, as Lee and the Minutes show, the early Church never spoke of the episcopacy as an order, nor as an order *and* an office, but solely as an *office*, which they made elective; and the only conclusion which can be drawn is, that they did not consider their episcopacy a distinct and higher order, but simply an office of superintendency.

Not only did they organize by "making the episcopal office elective," as Lee and the Minutes say, but, as the same authorities declare, they made "the elected Superintendents amenable to the body of ministers and preachers." Now it is to be remembered that this Conference, and all the early General Conferences, were composed of all the preachers, whether they were elders or not. When the Christmas Conference opened there were only three, including Superintendent Coke, who had received elder's orders; and even after others were ordained at

* Lee's "History of the Methodists," p. 94.

this Conference, "the body of the ministers and preachers" was composed mainly of unordained men. That they made "the elected Superintendents amenable to the body of ministers and preachers," many of whom had no orders at all, shows that they could not have regarded their superintendency in the light of a ministerial order, but rather as an executive office. On the idea of simply an office there was some reason in all having a voice in the election of a Superintendent, because all were to be superintended by him; and so, for the same reason, there was propriety in his being responsible to them; but the thing would be an ecclesiastical absurdity, if the superintendency were a higher order, for the Superintendent to be amenable to those of a lower order and to those who had no orders at all.

Even if the Conference had been composed entirely of elders, this amenability would imply that the Superintendents were not of a higher order, and such amenability could only be on the ground that the superintendency was merely an office of an executive or jurisdictional character, and hence, responsible to the body which created it.

But it may be objected, that writers of that day say that Mr. Asbury was "ordained" Superintendent, and that the American Methodists had received from Mr. Wesley a service entitled "The Form of Ordaining a Superintendent." That the word "ordain" was used may be admitted, but the nature of the service is not to be interpreted by the name so much as the name is to be interpreted by the declared intention of the service; and the question now at issue is not about words, but whether this service was intended to place the presbyter in a higher order.

Mr. Wesley, who gave the service, could not have intended it in that sense, for he held that there was no higher order than the eldership, and said, at the very time he gave them the service, that "bishops and presbyters are the same order." That the Christmas Conference held Wesley's view is asserted by Bishop Simpson in his "Cyclopedia of Methodism." Referring to Wesley's ordination of Whatcoat and Vasey as elders, and his setting apart of Coke as Superintendent, he says:

> This ordination was performed because, according to his view of the primitive episcopacy, bishops and presbyters were of the same order. This view was entertained by the ministers who met in

conference or convention in 1784, and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

So the Conference, accepting this view from its supreme ecclesiastical authority, could not suppose that in using such a service they were giving any order above the eldership when they did not believe there was any higher order. With this view, even if they did use the word "ordain" in this connection, they could only have used it and understood it in a peculiar sense as qualified by the idea that no higher order could be conferred, and, therefore, they could look upon the superintendency only as an office—"the episcopal office," as they termed it—and the ceremony simply as a formal service of installation inducting the elected person, in an appropriate and solemn manner, into that office.

It may be said that the service which does not place in a higher order is not an ordination, and, therefore, the word should not have been used. To that objection we reply, that a writer has a right to use a word in a peculiar sense if he so qualifies it, as Wesley did in this case, that his meaning is manifest. The word is to be defined by the thing, and not the thing by the word, especially when it is guarded and qualified by a precise declaration.

The most that can be made out of the use of the word "ordination" in this connection, by those who would restrict its meaning, is, that those who so used it were not exact in their language. Indeed, we are not to be surprised that even Mr. Wesley should lack precision in this very thing, for the service for the American Methodists was evidently prepared in haste. Their intention in using the word is to be explained in the light of clear and positive declarations. As they held that "bishops and presbyters are the same order," it cannot be supposed that any service they applied to a presbyter, even if they called it an ordination, was an ecclesiastical ordination in the sense of conferring a higher order. It must have been a qualified "ordination"—using the term in a lower sense—and so did not give any higher order to one who was already a presbyter.

Dr. Coke, in a foot-note to his sermon delivered when Asbury was formally inducted into the superintendency, says in reference to his use of the phrase, "bishop of the Church

* Art. "Methodist Episcopacy."

of Philadelphia," "I here use the word *bishop* in its present sense, as signifying an officer of the Church superior to the presbyters." * In his mind a bishop is an *officer* who is superior as such to the presbyters, as may also be seen by the fact that in the certificate he gave Asbury, Coke, though Superintendent, styles himself "a presbyter," showing that he recognized that to be his *order*, while the superintendency (whose functions he was then exercising) was his office. So in the certificate there is not a word about an episcopal order, but the simple statement that he "did set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of a Superintendent."† All these facts show that Coke, and the Conference which organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, held views that harmonized with the teaching of Wesley, that bishops were the same in order as presbyters, and viewed the episcopacy as a superior office.

Leaving the first, we pass to a subsequent General Conference. Mr. Wesley had written to Dr. Coke requesting him to call a General Conference to meet at Baltimore on the first of May, 1787. The call was issued, and the Conference convened at that time.

In the same letter to Dr. Coke, Mr. Wesley indicated his reason for desiring the Conference, namely, "that Mr. Richard Whatcoat may be appointed Superintendent with Mr. Francis Asbury." Thus the presbyter who was at the head of the Church issued his orders and named the man he desired to have act as Superintendent. Mr. Wesley considered this his right, and the Conference at which the organization had been made had agreed, "in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands."

The Conference understood Wesley to direct that Whatcoat be made Superintendent, though Wesley's order was couched in courteous terms. Lee says: "Mr. Wesley also directed that Richard Whatcoat should be ordained a joint Superintendent with Mr. Asbury." ‡ Dr. Coke also understood Mr. Wesley as ordering the selection of Whatcoat as Superintendent. As Lee says: "Dr. Coke contended that we were obliged to receive Mr. Whatcoat, because [of what] we had said in the Minutes taken at the Christmas Conference."

* "Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review," July, 1840.

† Bangs's "History of Methodism," vol. i, p. 157. ‡ Lee's History, p. 126.

Most of the preachers, however, objected to having Whatcoat made a Superintendent, and the strongest reason seems to have been that given by Lee: "That they were apprehensive that if Whatcoat was ordained Mr. Wesley would recall Mr. Asbury, and he would return to England." * This was another recognition of the fact that Wesley claimed supreme authority over the Superintendents, and a clear implication that Asbury could not have been in order above a presbyter when he was under a presbyter's control.

Wesley had evidently in some way given an intimation of an intention of removing Asbury from the superintendency and recalling him to England. Asbury, in a letter he wrote the Rev. Joseph Benson some time after this, said of Mr. Wesley:

> He rigidly contended for a special and independent right of governing the chief minister or ministers of our order, which in our judgment meant not only to put him out of office, but to remove him from the continent to elsewhere that our father saw fit.†

This shows not only Presbyter Wesley's estimate of his authority, but also his opinion that a Superintendent occupying the "episcopal office" could be removed from the position at his pleasure and that without any cause, such as crime or improper conduct, being alleged,—a view which cannot be harmonized with the notion of the superintendency as a higher order, but which is compatible with the idea of the episcopacy as an office.

In this letter to Benson, and in this very connection, Mr. Asbury speaks of "the right of electing every Church officer, and more especially our Superintendent," which shows that Asbury looked upon the superintendency as an office and the Superintendent as an officer, and his remark that Wesley's claim "meant to put him out of office," implies the same idea.

The outcome of the whole matter was, that notwithstanding the agreement made at the Christmas Conference to obey Mr. Wesley "in matters belonging to Church government," the General Conference of 1787 refused to have Whatcoat as a Superintendent. Recognizing the apparent awkwardness of their position they went further, and struck out the record of

* Lee's History, p. 126.

† Atkinson's "Centennial History of American Methodism," p. 57.

the agreement, and also removed Mr. Wesley's name from the Minutes.

It is not in the line of our theme to discuss the wisdom or propriety of thus cutting the Gordian knot, but good came out of it. The spirit of the American Revolution evidently seemed to be on the Conference. It was another declaration of independence. It was a revolution, and to Wesley it seemed as a rebellion. It was an emphatic declaration by the General Conference that it meant to be above him who was superior to its Superintendent, and that the General Conference would not permit any executive power or official authority to be above itself; and in making their decision, they actually deposed Wesley, their chief Superintendent, and this assertion by the ministers implies that they recognized no higher order than that which was possessed by the members on the floor of the Conference.

This action was a heavy blow to Wesley, who complained because Asbury did not exert himself to avert it, saying that "Mr. Asbury quietly sat by until his friends, by common consent, voted my name out of the American Minutes."

Another troublesome question before the General Conference of 1787 was one raised in regard to Dr. Coke. The doctor had been out of the country, and while abroad had undertaken to exercise his functions as Superintendent in America. The preachers were dissatisfied with this, and, at this Conference, vigorously expressed their discontent. Lee says:

> The preachers complained of Dr. Coke, because he had taken upon himself a right which they never gave him, of altering the time and place of holding our Conferences, after it had been settled and fixed on at a previous Conference. . . . At that time the doctor saw that the preachers were pretty generally united against him; he acknowledged his faults, begged pardon, and promised not to meddle with our affairs again when he was out of the United States. He then gave a certificate to the same purpose.
>
> The preachers then agreed to forgive what was past, provided this condition should be expressed in the Minutes, which was done thus:
>
> "*Q.* Who are the Superintendents of our Church for the United States? *A.* Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury." *

* Lee's History, p. 124.

This shows that the General Conference held that it was superior to the Superintendents—that while they were Superintendents of the Church the General Conference superintended them. That presbyters, and preachers who had not attained even that order, could call a Superintendent to account and direct his official action, shows that they did not look upon the superintendency as a higher order, with its higher *prerogatives*, but as an office, with only its definite *functions*. That Dr. Coke acquiesced in their procedure would seem to show that he admitted their right and held the same view as to his position.

That the General Conference took a Superintendent to task "because he had taken upon himself a right which they never gave him," shows not only that a Superintendent had no right to do any thing that was not specified in the Discipline, but also that to his position attached no power excepting that which the General Conference expressly and explicitly delegated (and which they could at any time recall), which is quite consistent with the idea of an office, but not so with that of a hinher ministerial order.

This General Conference asserted also the right to limit a Superintendent's jurisdiction, and to limit the exercise of his functions after he had been elected, and that though for years he had occupied the "episcopal office." It declared Dr. Coke a Superintendent only in the United States; that when he went out of the United States he lost all power of superintendency, and if he stayed out he ceased to be a Superintendent. Now, if the superintendency had been an order, Dr. Coke must have carried it with him every-where, for this is one of the peculiar characteristics of an order as contrasted with an office. Thus a presbyter is a presbyter always, and the order goes with him upon whom it has been conferred wherever he goes, unless he be entirely deposed from the ministry. That they limited the superintendency, as in the case of Coke, shows that the General Conference did not look upon it as an order, but as an office.

One educated as Coke had been, and knowing the rights of religious orders, would not have so yielded had he considered the superintendency to be an order. That he considered it simply an office appears also from the fact that in the written agreement he gave in this matter he uses the expression,

"By virtue of my office as Superintendent of the Methodist Church." *

Subsequently to the General Conference of 1787, but in the same year, "Mr. Asbury reprinted the General Minutes; but somewhat changed from what they were before." In these Minutes the title of Bishop was first used. Lee says:

> This was the first time our Superintendents ever gave themselves the title of Bishops in the Minutes. They changed the title themselves, without the consent of the Conference; and at the next Conference they asked the preachers if the word *Bishop* might stand in the Minutes, seeing that it was a Scripture name, and the meaning of the word Bishop was the same with that of Superintendent. Some of the preachers opposed the alteration and wished to retain the former title; but a majority of the preachers agreed to let the word *Bishop* remain; and in the Annual Minutes for the next year the first question is, "Who are the Bishops of our Church for the United States?" †

Admitting that both titles mean the same thing (which, however, is not the case in their relations to ecclesiastical affairs)-nevertheless it was an act of usurpation for Asbury, or Asbury and Coke, to change a title which had been adopted by the Church, without first obtaining the consent of that Church. Had the title Superintendent remained unchanged, in all probability the question as to whether the Methodist episcopacy was an order above the eldership never would have been raised, for the name Superintendent would not have suggested the idea of order, but of office.

Still it is to be remembered that the change of the name did not change the thing, and it was expressly declared that "the meaning of the word Bishop was the same with that of Superintendent," so making the latter interpret and limit the meaning of the former, as used in this case. So the equivalent title Superintendent still stands in some places in the Discipline; and since the change of title the Bishops have frequently referred to themselves as the General Superintendents, and the Conference which assented to the change explained its action by inserting in the Minutes the following note:

> As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the English word *Bishop* instead of *Superintendent*, it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt their term, Bishop.

* Bangs's History, vol. i, p. 257. † Lee's History, pp. 127, 128.

When the official designation was changed from Superintendent to Bishop, Wesley expressed his dissatisfaction in a most emphatic manner. Probably because he supposed or knew that Asbury was the prime mover in the matter, he wrote him a most scathing letter. In this letter Wesley says to Asbury:

> One instance of this [your greatness] has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called Bishop?... Men may call me a *knave* or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me *Bishop*. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this! *

It may be that Wesley's preference for the title Superintendent was to avoid the danger of prelatical notions which many attached to the word Bishop, and which had become inseparably associated with it in ecclesiastical literature and in the public mind; but the change of the name made no change in the thing; it was confessed that it here represented the same kind of superintendency that the Church had before.

The Rev. Richard Watson, referring to Wesley's objection to the change, says:

> The only objection he could have to the name was, that from long association it was likely to convey a meaning beyond his own intention. But this was a matter of mere prudential feeling confined to himself: so that neither are Dr. Coke nor Mr. Asbury to be blamed for using that appellation (bishop) in Mr. Wesley's sense, which was the same as presbyter as far as order was concerned, nor the American societies (as they have sometimes inconsiderately been), for calling themselves, in the same view, "The American Methodist Episcopal Church," since their episcopacy is founded upon the principle of bishops and presbyters being of the same *degree*—a more extended *office* only being assigned to the former, as in the primitive Church.†

In the Discipline of 1787 another change of some importance was made, probably by the person or persons who changed the official title. The question and answer in which it was said "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of superintendents, elders, deacons, and helpers," etc., were stricken out, and a section "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church" was introduced. In this a reason is given why the American Methodists are no longer connected with

* Wesley's Works, vol. vii, p. 187.

† Watson's "Life of Wesley," American edition, p. 247.

the Church of England, and why they do not unite with its successor.

In this section a contrast is drawn between the kind of Church they propose and the Church of England and its successor in the United States, and especially between the Methodist episcopacy and the episcopacy of the aforementioned Churches. It contains a positive rejection of the doctrine of apostolic succession, and states that "as we are persuaded that the uninterrupted succession of bishops can be proved neither from Scripture nor antiquity, we therefore have constituted ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of bishops, elders, deacons, and preachers," etc. It also affirms that "the most excellent mode of Church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of a moderate episcopacy."

The whole tenor of the passage is a contrast between the episcopal government they had chosen, and that of the Church of England and the new Protestant Episcopal Church; and, in the light of this and of other facts before mentioned, the legitimate inference must be, that that which they called their "moderate episcopacy" rejected all notions of a higher order.

The main point in view at that time, however, was a denial of apostolic succession. Others claimed, that to be a Church it was necessary to have the succession from the apostles; but they claimed that this doctrine was untenable, and therefore could not stand in the way of their forming a new Church. They evidently conceded the divine right of the order of elders, and they recognized no order above this.

Two years after this, in 1789, this declaration was stricken out and another statement in the form of question and answer was substituted. This change, which was made probably by the same party or parties, had a new purpose, namely, to show the source of the episcopal authority in the new Church, and to declare their belief that it was proper and valid. The question propounded was as follows: "Ques. 1. What is the proper origin of the episcopal authority in our Church?" and the purpose of this question is to be kept before us in interpreting the answer. The answer states, in substance, that they trace its origin to the Rev. John Wesley, "the father of the great revival of religion now extending over the earth by the means of the Methodists;" that he sent over "three regularly ordained clergy,"

and, hence, even in a churchly sense, their ordination was not irregular, but had a "proper origin;" that he solemnly set apart by the imposition of his hands and prayer one of them, namely, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College in the University of Oxford, for the episcopal office."

It will be noticed here, and throughout this paragraph, that the office in question is not called an order, but "the episcopal office," which phrase occurs no less than three times.

It is to be observed, further, that the source of their episcopacy to which they point is presbyterial. No one of any higher order than that of a presbyter takes part. Wesley is a presbyter, and so is each one who assists him in setting apart Dr. Coke to "the episcopal office," and the American Methodists declare they are "fully satisfied with the validity" of this procedure by presbyters. No one ordained to any higher order than that of presbyter took part, and, consequently, according even to higher order ideas, no higher order was conferred.

Dr. Coke could not have been admitted to any higher order, though he was set apart for the work of an office, for Wesley, who set him apart, affirmed that there was no higher order than that of presbyter. So Superintendent Coke remained a presbyter, and, as this paragraph states, Wesley "commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury, then General Assistant of the Methodist Society in America, for the same episcopal office; he, the said Francis Asbury, being first ordained deacon and elder." This was done, Dr. Coke officiating, and "other regularly ordained ministers assisting in the sacred ceremony."

It will be observed that the point here is, that Asbury received his episcopal ordination "in regular succession" from Wesley, and his jurisdiction from the Conference; and it is to be noticed that in this paragraph a distinction is made between an ordination and the service inducting one into the superintendency. Of Asbury it is said, that he was "ordained deacon and elder," but it is not said he was "ordained" Superintendent, but that he was "*set apart* for the said episcopal office." This change of the form of words suggests an incidental recognition of a difference between ordaining one a presbyter and setting apart a presbyter for the "episcopal office."

The statement in relation to Dr. Coke, that Wesley, "having

delivered to him letters of episcopal orders, commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury," should receive some consideration. The question may arise whether the phrase "letters of episcopal orders" means that the episcopacy is a higher order than the eldership?

It has been clearly shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church from the first regarded the superintendency as an office, and not as an order different from and higher than the eldership, and this cannot be neutralized by any doubtful phraseology. They had accepted the Wesleyan doctrine, that as to ministerial order a bishop was merely a presbyter, and here they speak of the episcopacy as an office. This phrase cannot be construed according to higher-order notions, for that would make the writers of the paragraph guilty of falsification in asserting that which was contrary to the facts; for the fact is, that Wesley never did give any letter certifying to a higher order, or calling the episcopacy an order at all. The Protestant Episcopal Church has, at the head of its form of certificate, the words "Letter of Orders," but no such phrase is connected with Wesley's testimonial letter. In the body of its form that Church says of one made a bishop that he was "*ordained* and consecrated" a bishop, but nothing of the nature of an order in Coke's superintendency is intimated in Wesley's letter.

In the testimonial letter there is nothing about an episcopal order or episcopal orders. Even the word "ordination" is not used in connection with Coke, but the phrase "set apart;" neither is bishop or even "episcopal office" used, but simply "Superintendent." Its form is, "I have this day set apart as a Superintendent," etc.* Thus the letter itself shows that it is not in any higher-order sense "letters of episcopal orders," but simply a testimonial letter given by Wesley certifying that he had set Coke apart as a Superintendent.

To be consistent with himself, this is all that Wesley could have intended; it is all that could fairly have been meant by those who used the phrase in question, and this is evidently what the paragraph shows it to mean. The whole purport is, not to show whether the episcopacy is a higher order, but merely to designate the "origin of the episcopal authority in our Church;" and so it affirms that Wesley, having appointed

* Bangs's "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 155.

and set apart Coke as Superintendent, gave him a letter to that effect. The phrase, therefore, must have been used in a modified sense, and as a warrant of supervisory authority.

The concluding part of the paragraph may also demand a passing notice. It says that the Conference "did unanimously receive" Coke and Asbury, "being fully satisfied of the validity of their episcopal ordination;" but there is in this nothing that teaches that the episcopacy was a higher order than the eldership, any more than there was in Wesley's giving a service for the "Ordaining of Superintendents," which he qualified by saying, "bishops and presbyters are the same order," or the use of the same word in regard to the setting apart of Superintendents by the Christmas Conference when its members accepted the same qualification.

As we have seen, the so-called "ordination," as it was qualified, amounted to nothing more than a formal induction into official duty, and, for the same reasons, it must be so understood here. Even in this paragraph the word "ordination," as used at the close, is qualified by its equivalent "set apart" "to the episcopal office," which is used in every instance in regard to Coke and Asbury's entrance into their special work, and of course it fails to give any legitimate support to the higher-order idea.

We conclude, therefore, that when Wesley set apart Coke, he did not mean to confer on him any higher order; and when Asbury was set apart, the doctrine of the parity of bishops and presbyters, as to orders, was admitted; so that the use of the word "ordination," here, in regard to Coke and Asbury, can mean nothing more than it meant when Wesley used it, and it must therefore be understood with the same limitation.

Again, it must be borne in mind that the discussion is not as to whether the episcopacy is an order or an office, but as to the source of the "episcopal authority of Coke and Asbury," thus involving the idea of office rather than of ministerial order. The object is to assert the validity of the Methodist episcopacy, that though presbyterial in its origin it is just as valid as any other, and its Bishops are just as legitimately and genuinely bishops as are those of any other Church. They were properly appointed, properly elected, and properly set apart; and

though all this was done by presbyters and not by bishops of a so-called higher order, and claiming apostolic succession, the members of the Conference were satisfied of its validity, and fully believed that it had a "proper origin."

At this Conference (1789) the name of Mr. Wesley was restored to the Minutes, evidently to mitigate his displeasure on account of its omission; and though there may be room for doubt as to what is meant by "the regular order and succession" in which they are placed, there can be none respecting "the episcopal office."

Wesley was in order a presbyter, and nothing more, for in the testimonial he gave Coke he calls himself a "presbyter of the Church of England." Surely these early Methodists could not have understood the episcopacy to be an order higher than the eldership, or they would not have placed or recognized a presbyter, as Wesley certainly was, in that position. Yet here they recognize "Presbyter" Wesley as in the "episcopal office," and place his name before the names of "Bishop" Coke and "Bishop" Asbury.

Further, it is evident that they laid no stress upon the service which had been styled an ordination, and that they did not consider that Wesley's setting apart of Coke, or that the so-called "ordination" of Asbury, gave any higher order, for they recognized Wesley, who never had been so set apart by any "sacred ceremony" for the episcopacy, and who never had received any ordination above that of the eldership, as not only the equal but the superior of Coke and Asbury, who had been specially set apart with religious service. The service of setting apart, or the so-called "ordination," was not, therefore, considered as having any virtue as to giving any higher order, but must have been looked upon as a not essential though appropriate ceremony, which left the presbyter to whom it was applied as to ministerial order neither more nor less than "an elder in the Church of God."

With them, a bishop was a presbyter in authority over other presbyters; and if the superintending presbyter exercised such power, he was a true *episcopos* whether he had or had not been subject to a special setting apart, and whether he had or had not been formally elected to that position. Wesley had neither been formally elected nor set apart to a higher order; and so,

the ruling idea must have been that the bishopric was not an order, but an office occupied by a presbyter.

This single fact, that in the very year the aforementioned paragraph was introduced, Mr. Wesley was recognized as the chief *episcopos* of Methodism, relieves any obscure expression it may contain, and dissipates any doubt such an expression might create; so that "letters of episcopal orders" cannot be understood as implying any higher order than that of presbyter, for no higher order was recognized.

At the Conference of 1792 occurred the schism led by James O'Kelly. Though he did not withdraw on account of the nature of the episcopacy, he soon began to call it a "spurious episcopacy." Lee says of the seceders:

> The name of bishop they abhorred. They acknowledged that the word *bishop* and the word *elder* in the Scriptures meant the same thing; yet they showed great indignation against the word bishop, and were well pleased with the word elder.*

This incidental allusion by Lee shows that at that day the Methodists understood the words bishop and elder to mean the same order. [As they do in their scriptural, but not in their ecclesiastical, use.—Ed.]

Another Methodist preacher who started an independent movement about the same time was the Rev. William Hammett. Both of these leaders were men of ability, and their attacks upon the Methodist Episcopal Church and its episcopacy led to more careful statements and a more guarded phraseology.

One who defended the Church against Hammett's attack was the Rev. John Dickins, the first American preacher to whom Coke imparted the plan for the new organization. He was a member of the Christmas Conference, and consequently knew the original intention, as well as the understanding, at the time he wrote.

Emory, in his "Defense of our Fathers," quotes from a pamphlet written by Dickins in 1792, and says:

> The late Rev. John Dickins, in his remarks on the proceedings of Mr. Hammett, says, in relation to the superiority of our Bishops as derived not from their "separate ordination," but

* Lee's History, p. 204.

from the suffrages of the body of ministers: "Pray, when was it otherwise?" and "How can the Conference have power to remove Mr. Asbury and ordain another to fill his place, if they see it necessary, on any other ground?" Mr. Hammett had said: "Let your Superintendents know, therefore, that their superiority is derived from your suffrages, and not by virtue of a separate ordination. Gain and establish this point, and you sap the foundation of all arbitrary power in your Church forever." Mr. Dickins replies: "Now, who ever said the superiority of the Bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination? If this gave them their superiority, how came they to be removable by the Conference? If, then, what you there plead for will sap the foundation of all arbitrary power, it has been sapped in our connection from the first establishment of our constitution." (P. 31.) Again he remarks (p. 32): "We all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the Conference, and therefore his *office* is at their disposal." *

This father of the Church calls the episcopacy an office. He states that the Bishops have no superiority "by virtue of a separate ordination;" and it follows, therefore, that if the so-called "ordination" gave no superiority, it gave no higher order. He declares that the Bishop "derived his official power from the Conference," and that the "separate ordination" had nothing to do with his superiority, and that there is not "any other ground" on which the Conference has "power to remove" a Bishop and "fill his place, if they see it necessary," with another. Finally he affirms that this view, that there is no virtue in the "separate ordination," and that the Bishop derives his superiority solely "from the suffrages of the body of ministers," has been held "from the first establishment of our constitution," and he boldly asks, "Who ever said the superiority of the Bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination?" †

Emory, commenting on this quotation from John Dickins, says:

> The pamphlet containing the above sentiments was published by the unanimous request of the Conference held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1792; and may be therefore considered as expressing the views both of that Conference and of Bishop Asbury in relation to the true and original character of Methodist episcopacy." ‡

Four years after Dickins published his pamphlet, Coke and Asbury, by request of the General Conference, prepared and

* Emory's Defense, pp. 109, 110. † *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

printed explanatory notes to the Discipline, and they were appended to the Discipline of 1796.

We turn to these "Notes," and ask Coke and Asbury whether they understood the service of setting apart a Superintendent or Bishop to be an ordination in the same sense that the service for elders was an ordination. Their answer is substantially that it was not an ordination in the same sense, but that when the word "ordination" was used in reference to Bishops it was in the sense of consecration. Thus they say that Mr. Wesley "first *consecrated* one for the office of a Bishop." Again, they say Mr. Wesley "*consecrated* two Bishops, Thomas Coke and Alexander Mather, one before the present episcopal plan took place in America, and the other afterward, besides *ordaining* elders and deacons."

This section has the heading, "The Election and *Consecration* of Bishops," while other sections have "The Election and *Ordination* of Traveling Elders," and "The Election and *Ordination* of Traveling Deacons." Here, then, when they come to contrast the services, they make a distinction, and show that the service for Bishops, though termed an ordination, was not an ordination in the sense in which the word was used for elders and deacons, and they endeavor to express the distinction by the use of the word *consecration*, which indicates the setting apart to an office; and so, while they use the word "ordain" for elders and deacons, whose ordination is recognized as conferring orders, they use the word "consecrate" in reference to the bishopric, which they call an office.

They group the episcopacy with "the presiding elder's office," and ask, "Is it not strange that any of *the people* should complain of *this* or of the *episcopal* office?" and go on to speak of them as "these offices," so that with them the bishopric was an office the same in kind with the presiding eldership, though superior in authority. Now, no one pretends that the presiding eldership is an order, and according to Coke and Asbury's grouping neither is the bishopric. So, having a service of installation for presiding elders would not make the office an order, and neither would any definite or indefinite extension of the term. The characteristic of both is official authority mainly of an executive nature, and so they are both fitly grouped together as offices.

The "Notes" also declare that the Bishops "are *perfectly subject* to the General Conference"—"that their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference," which is consistent with the idea of the bishopric being an office, but totally inconsistent with the idea of bishops being of a higher order than presbyters.

At the General Conference of 1796, it was proposed, on account of Asbury's ill health and Coke's frequent absence, that an assistant Bishop be elected, but Dr. Coke offered his services. To this offer there was strong objection in the Conference until Asbury interposed, and said, "If we reject him, it will be his ruin," etc.* The matter then was left to Asbury's judgment, and Coke gave an agreement in writing, in which he, the first Superintendent or Bishop, is reduced, or reduces himself, to the position of an assistant to Asbury; and agrees, as he says, "not to station the preachers at any time when he is present," and only "to exercise episcopal duties when I hold a Conference in his absence, and by his consent."†

Such control of a Bishop which the Conference claimed, and which both Asbury and Coke conceded, is not at all in harmony with the idea that the bishopric is a higher order, but it agrees perfectly with the idea that it is an executive office.

In the year 1800, Mr. Asbury "proposed to *resign* his *office* as Superintendent," and "take his seat in the Conference on a *level with the elders*," but the Conference took formal action on "his intention of *resigning his official station*," and requested "a continuation of his services as one of the general Superintendents."‡ This shows that Asbury and the Conference, as well as Lee, the historian, understood the episcopacy to be an *office*, and that when the Bishop resigned "his *official station*" he resigned all that he had above that which the ordinary elders possessed.

At this Conference of 1800, Richard Whatcoat was elected Bishop "on an equal footing" with Asbury, and Coke "obtained liberty to return to Europe again, upon the condition that he should return to America as soon as his business would allow; or, at farthest, by the next General Conference."§ Some

* Kobler's letter to Dr. Lee in "Life and Times of Rev. Jesse Lee."

† Bangs's History, vol. ii, p. 56

‡ Lee's History, p. 265. § *Ibid.*, p. 266.

years after this, the Wesleyan Conference in England requested the return of Dr. Coke, and the General Conference of 1804 passed a resolution permitting Dr. Coke to return to Europe "subject to the call of three of our Annual Conferences to return when he is requested, but at farthest, that he shall return, if he live, to the next General Conference." * All of which was an assertion of power, certainly not as dealing with an order whose *prerogatives* are indefeasible, but as controlling an officer as to the use or disuse of his *functions*.

Dr. Coke was not present at the General Conference of 1808, but he wrote to that body, giving reasons for his absence and making certain propositions as a condition for his return to episcopal duty in America. Referring to his visit to America, four years before, he said: "I was not sure whether you would, in your circumstances as they respected Bishop Asbury, receive me as an *efficient* Superintendent or Bishop among you *in any degree or manner*." † He now wants them to define what powers he would have should he return to America, so conceding, by a necessary implication, the complete power of the Conference over him in respect to his position; and the Conference, taking him at his word, resolved that "he is not to exercise the office of Superintendent among us in the United States until he be recalled by the General Conference, or by all the Annual Conferences respectively."

A distinguished authority has said: "The action of the Conference was, to all intents and purposes, a deposition of the Bishop, though it was so expressed as to give him as little offense as possible." The same authority remarks that the Discipline "as acted upon by the General Conference . . . established the right of the General Conference to depose or suspend a General Superintendent, for any cause which that body may believe renders that deposition or suspension necessary, without the process of trial or impeachment." ‡

In another letter to the General Conference of 1808, Dr. Coke says: "I am of our late venerable father Mr. Wesley's opinion, that the order of bishops and presbyters is one and the same." This restates Wesley's opinion, and, coming from the

* Bangs's History, vol. ii, p. 154. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 197.

‡ Editorial in "Christian Advocate and Journal," T. E. Bond and G. Coles, Editors, August 14, 1844.

man who was said to have received "episcopal ordination" and "letters of episcopal orders," shows that these phrases were used in a qualified sense, and that he did not consider that he or Mr. Asbury had received any higher order than that of presbyter, for "the order of bishops and presbyters is *one* and the *same*." That he made such a statement to the Conference, without objection, may also be taken as reflecting the sentiment of that body.

Bishop Asbury died on the last day of March, 1816, and, on the twenty-third of the following month, the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper delivered a funeral discourse on the deceased Bishop. Mr. Cooper was present at the first meeting of Coke and Asbury, and was familiar with the views of the early Church. In this sermon he affirms that "our church government . . . is founded on . . . the Scriptures, and also the usages of the primitive Church;" and in the Appendix he speaks of the Methodist episcopacy as a "presbyterial episcopacy," and maintains that bishops and presbyters or elders are "the same order." *

Thus we are brought down to the death of Asbury, which may be said to close the first period of the history of the Methodist episcopacy. Through all this time the identity of bishops and presbyters as to order is in numerous cases both positively and tacitly affirmed. It may be admitted that there was, especially at one period, some confusion in the use of terms, and it is possible that some may have misunderstood the nature of the episcopacy; but the prevalent tenor of the transactions of the General Conference, as well as the statements of prominent individuals, demonstrate that the early Methodist Episcopal Church understood that a bishop had no order above that of presbyter or elder, and that the bishopric—"the episcopal office," as they called it—was not an order, but an office of an executive character, and that he who filled it, though he was in *office* a Superintendent or Bishop, was in *order* only a presbyter or elder.

* Cooper on Asbury, pp. 109 and 115.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

REVIVALS.

To the minds of most evangelical Christians there is something both pleasant and sobering suggested by the thought that is indicated by the rather indefinite term *Revivals.* It naturally calls up the idea of increased religious quickening, and the uplifting of united hearts and minds in faith and hope and holy endeavor, and also of the increase of Christ's kingdom by the conversion of souls. These ideas are common among religious people; but beyond these generally accepted notions there are not a few others in respect to which there is not equal unanimity. There is no such agreement in respect to the proper answer to the question, whether or not revivals should be considered the normal condition of church life, or special and occasional seasons of grace ; nor, whether or not they should be labored for by direct efforts for their manifestations, or waited for in prayer and faith and the performance of moral and religious duties; nor, whether or not they have any relations to times and seasons, or are chiefly subject to human agencies and endeavors. All these questions are worthy of serious consideration, for they are potent in practical church work; and yet there are in many minds uncertainties respecting them, which may become prejudicial to religious interests.

If it shall be conceded that the religious state indicated by the word "revival" is the normal condition of the living Church, then it should also be expected that that state will be continuous and perennial, not occasional, with intervals of subsidence and cessation. But the commonly accepted form of language used in speaking of these things indicates that they are not so perpetual, as when we say *a* revival,—so giving it a segregated individuality, which would be absurd were the thing indicated continuous; and also because it is *one*, the idea of plurality becomes possible, and so we speak of revivals. In this case, as is usual, the common speech is no doubt agreeable to the facts, because revivals are special and exceptional phenomena in church life, but not therefore in the popular sense of the word abnormal. The alternations of the seasons and the changes of the wind are all normal, though the events of the one class occur according to an unalterable succession, and the other apparently without law, since "the wind bloweth where it listeth." The ordinary processes of nature are carried on in a well-regulated order, and yet it is well known that these may be either hastened or retarded, and also deflected into other forms ; and so in spiritual things very much is clearly dependent on human actions. While, therefore, we recognize the ultimate subjection of the spirit of revivals to "sovereign grace," we

may also hold that its practical manifestation is not entirely removed from human influences; that while the residue of the Spirit is with the Lord, he also assures his people that for these things he will be inquired of.

The New Testament idea of the Christian life, whether in the individual or the Church, is that of an elevated spiritual estate—a walking in the light and abounding in all the graces of the Spirit, with the fruits following. That the life of the believer so walking with God should have its variations and spiritual crises seems to be according to the divine economy of Christian experience; and in like manner it might be presumed, apart from the evidence of facts, that there will be varieties in the operations of the Spirit in and through the Church. And such, it is known, has been the order of things in the Church, especially during its most spiritual periods, and changes from a lower to a higher state, from relative dullness to earnest vitality, and especially the outgoings of the Spirit's quickenings to the hitherto unsaved, constitute the gracious manifestations that we call *revivals.*

If, then, it should seem not quite correct to say that revivals constitute the normal state of the Church, they are certainly the normal products of the indwelling life of the Spirit, which is about equivalent to saying that if the Church is faithful to God he too will be faithful to his own promise to pour out of the abundance of his Spirit. It seems also to be the divine method that while the gifts of grace are continuous as the sunshine of the day and the dews of the night there shall also be occasional and exceptionally abundant "showers of blessings."

The duty of the Church in the matter of revivals is not only very serious, but also especially delicate, often presenting perplexing difficulties. Revivals are so far essential to the Church's welfare, that without them it will in almost any case decline in spirituality and lapse into worldliness, and also fail of its power to promote conversions. The Church that has no revivals will soon cease to be a soul-winning and soul-saving Church. These are the early and latter rains which irrigate the spiritual lands, so as to carry them still flourishing through other and less signally favored seasons, and by their influence the dormant seeds of grace in unrenewed souls are quickened and developed into spiritual life. And because revivals are so desirable, and indeed necessary, they should be sought for by all legitimate means; but great care should be exercised that only such shall be employed. It is a fearful thing to offer strange fire before the Lord. It is not for the minister or the Church to "appoint" a revival, nor for the evangelist to "get one up." Seasons for special and united prayer and other spiritual exercises may be of great value, even if not followed by unusual results; but for a revival there must be a patient, but not inactive, waiting upon God, in devout expectancy, but with all diligence in well-doing. As the mariner does not cease his efforts when the tide and the winds are against him, no more should Christians cease to labor and pray with all diligence in the most unpropitious seasons. It is always right and good to desire and work for a revival, but it is not good to try to force it, and it is impious to attempt to counterfeit it.

Genuine revivals are not only seasons of present refreshing, but they send their influences forward in blessings for after times. A revival Church is to those that abide in it the house of the Lord, stored with grace and adorned with the beauty of holiness; to those that are without, it is as a city set on a hill, and as a light shining in the world's darkness; but spurious and counterfeit revivals are a blight and a curse, both to the Church and the unsaved world. The religious fervors awakened by this kind of spiritual galvanizing, even though not consciously hypocritical, are unproductive and evanescent, and after they have passed by, the last case of their subjects is worse than the first. A sadder spectacle is not often seen than is presented by a social community that has been thus swept over by a religious sirocco, leaving behind it blighted souls and a wide-spread spiritual desolation. It is a fearful truth that should never be lost sight of by those who watch for souls, that every one upon whom the influence of a revival, genuine or spurious, is exercised, is either profited or damaged by it; that to be subjected to such spiritual influences without being made better is fearfully perilous, and these evil results may follow, in cases where there is not much of the true spirit of revival. A revival that comes by the power of the Holy Spirit is the bringer in of a renewed and lasting spiritual power to those who accept its benefits; and just the opposite results flow out of and accompany the spurious or artificial excitements that are called by that name.

The use of revival methods among young people and children, though a desirable work with large capabilities of good, is an exceedingly delicate duty, and not without its perils. Granting, as we certainly do, that there can be no spiritual life without regeneration, effectuated through penitence and prayer and faith, and also that children may be converted at an early age, seven to ten years old, we must also insist that parents and pastors and Sunday-school workers should be very careful how they handle such delicate and tenderly sensitive subjects; for the plastic docility which yields so readily to right instructions is also especially liable to be misled and perverted. To become religiously excited only to subside into indifference is to suffer great damage. To go forward for prayers, or in any way to be recognized as a seeker, without any deep and intelligent conviction of sin, or a settled purpose to lead a new life, whatever doing so may cost, is not a trifling error; and to pass through a Sunday-school revival without attaining to a scriptural conversion is to take a wide step in the wrong direction. These are momentous considerations, to which all who are charged with such interests should give heed.

The high estimate that is put upon revivals as phenomena in church life, and forms of Christian activity, is by no means in excess of their true value, and for that reason they should be not only diligently employed, but also carefully guarded from abuses. In and through them the ascended and glorified Christ has in all the ages of the Church fulfilled his promise of his perpetual presence, to the end of the Christian age. They have sometimes been given in the darkest seasons, and among conditions when it seemed that the light of spiritual life had gone out

and the Church had failed of its great design. But they are especially frequent and refreshing, and gloriously powerful, when the Church is walking in the obedience of faith and fulfilling its high calling, praying, watching, and working for the coming of the Lord.

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

It is an old remark, about equally trite and true, that the beginnings of great popular movements are usually occult, and often past finding out. That now so rife against intemperance and the liquor traffic is not absolutely new, but it has lately assumed broader proportions, and passed from the condition of a quiescent conviction to an active and aggressive propagandism; and though there is abundant reason for even greater zeal against the rum demon than has before been brought into action, yet no special cause for its revival at this time is apparent. But the fact is not to be denied that the conviction is every-where deepening, that the desolations of intemperance are fearfully alarming, and that the trade in intoxicants is a nuisance that should be abated, and a public wrong calling for immediate and complete suppression. The presence of this feeling is patent, however it may have come to be. It is in the air, and can neither be ignored nor practically disregarded, and it may be well for all interests that may be affected by it, economical, social, or political, to recognize it as a factor in all their future calculations. This incoming flood is not the result of some temporary local storm, but of the rising tide of convictions that have come to possess the public mind in the forms of pity for the suffering, and of indignation against those who, for sordid gain, willingly become the agents of all this ruin. It is plain, too, that the force of these convictions has as yet only very partially expressed itself; and it is safe to anticipate that, instead of the present ripplings of the waves, a mighty ground-swell of awakened purposes will sweep over the land.

The presence of this movement was manifested in the late general election chiefly as a disturbing force, but quite sufficiently so, not only to indicate its existence, but also to suggest that it was backed by an unmeasured reserve of power. The votes cast for what was called the "Prohibition ticket" can, in no just sense, be taken as a measure of its extent and influence. The interests of the people were drawn away, with almost unprecedented intensity, to other issues, and uncounted thousands of the most determined Prohibitionists were saying, "Not now; the contest for the presidency is now the great issue, and for the time being the paramount one." Whether or not they acted wisely in this is a matter of less importance practically than is the fact itself; and this uncounted reserve force of the prohibition army, which refused to come to the front, is neither dispersed nor demoralized, but they are resting on their arms, and waiting for the reveille and drum-beat, to call them to go forward. If was believed, indeed, that the so-called National Prohibition party, to

which Governor St. John was the standard-bearer, was not in any proper sense the representative of the intelligent and unselfish temperance sentiment of the country. Its proposed methods for the suppression of the liquor traffic were believed to be fundamentally wrong, as well as inexpedient and impracticable. The only alternatives presented were "Constitutional Prohibition," or absolutely free trade in liquor; and as the most sanguine must allow that years will elapse before the former can be secured, in all the interval there must be a jubilee of Free Rum. The leaders of the party refused to recognize the fact that a License Law is a partial prohibition, and also to consent to mitigate the liquor evil during the processes for its complete removal.

But these mistakes of those who have assumed to represent the cause of Prohibition, and who undertook to be its leaders, however egregious and lamentable, do not affect the real merits of the case. It will not be so misunderstood by the public, whether its friends or enemies. In the changed condition of the politics of the nation and of the two great parties brought about by the late election, the prohibition movement standforth disentangled and with a comparatively open field for its action. During the next three years the contest for the presidency will be in abeyance, and the people of the several States and cities and minor civil divisions will be at liberty to care for their local affairs, in respect to which party allegiance is much less exacting than in national elections. To men of practical rather than visionary methods of thinking to begin the attack upon the liquor traffic through a canvass for the presidency, and by aiming at its suppression by Congressional legislation, seems very much like an attempt to mount to the house-top without the use of the stairway, or like rejecting the use of scaffolding in erecting a lofty edifice. The first work to be done, and that nearest at hand, and the most readily practicable, is in each one's own municipality or political locality, and the enforcement of laws already on the statute book against the unrestrained freedom of the traffic—which may well form an issue in the election of local officials—would be the best possible preparation for further suppressive legislation, or for the election of legislative and executive officers of the State on that issue. This kind of work may not so well meet the requirements of men of very lively imaginations, but in practically beneficial results it will commend itself to plain common-sense people.

In the present state of this subject two facts of commanding importance must be taken into the account. The first is, that there can be only two great national parties in the country, one or the other of which will have the control of public affairs. A third party, if attempted, must necessarily be narrow in the range of its purposes, and also temporary as to its continuance, and usually local in extent. It must ignore all other public interests, except its own specialty—which the great body of the citizens will not do, and ought not. No party based on any single issue ever achieved success at a general election, and from the necessities of the case it cannot be done. It may operate as a disturbing force and a menace,

and, by compelling one or both of the great parties to grant its claim, it may achieve success at second-hand. But to withdraw from both the parties those who favor some specific changes would be to render them powerless in the contest, and to reduce that element in the body politic to zero. The second fact referred to is, that as the two chief parties are constituted, as to the character of their adherents, the withdrawal of the Prohibitionists from both would result in the hopeless defeat of that party from which alone there can be any possibility of success for their cause.

In the three States of Maine, Kansas, and Iowa the principle of Prohibition has been incorporated into their fundamental law, but in each of them it was done by, not a third party, but the Republicans. But, left to its own leaders, the Republican party cares nothing for Prohibition, nor for any other moral issue. It simply asks for votes, and is ready to purchase them by concessions made to those whose suffrages are sought for. It came into existence and attained supremacy in the nation by responding to a great popular demand; and so long as the issues so raised were unsettled, but still pursued, it was secure in the popular favor. But of the hundreds of thousands of free citizens who, during its struggle against the slave power, voted steadily with the Republican party, a contingent much larger than its majority never belonged to it in any such sense as to feel bound to follow its leadings contrary to their own personal convictions. It is because that party has failed to retain the confidence of those men who have both convictions and conscience that its splendid majorities of former years, after growing beautifully less year by year, have at length disappeared. Nothing seems more certain than that the Republican party must either satisfy the Prohibitionists by making their specialty a "plank" in its platform, and so stand or fall on that issue, or be hopelessly defeated and go out of existence,—as did its predecessor, the Whig party, because it would not accept the antislavery issue. Should it accept that issue, it would probably be defeated for more than a single year; but there would be hope in its case, because the moral forces of the country would be on its side. Apart from this liquor question, neither of the great parties can make any special claim to the favor of the moral and religious portion of the community; and while the Democrats may hope to succeed without it, the Republicans are sure of defeat without their cordial support. They have, therefore, these alternatives between which to choose—adopt Prohibition or go into liquidation.

Those who favor the organization of a political Prohibition party with the required agencies and appliances, and the necessary expenditure of money for carrying on a campaign, seem not to duly appreciate the greatness of the undertaking. It is not an extravagant estimate that puts down a million of dollars as the aggregate expenditure of each of the parties at the last election—probably twice that amount would not cover all the direct and indirect outlays and expenditures in various forms. Who, then, may be relied on for such contributions to the Prohibition party?—and without money, and a large amount of it, too, a political campaign

cannot be successfully conducted, even in so good a cause as that of Prohibition. Good and true men will give their own votes without other compensation than the sense of a duty performed; but beyond that their services must be paid for, which is all right. In the great parties the payments and contributions are expected to be compensated by political preferments, not entirely disregarding the profits of official jobbery. Will these motives prove effective in the new party? and, if so, will there not be danger of jobbery there also? Evidently, the formation of a great national party, based upon the single idea of Prohibition, to be organized and engineered so as to give even the most distant assurance of success, is simply impracticable, and also undesirable. The attempt, if made, would only result in impotent endeavors and abortive attempts, assuring their own defeat, while the party itself would be made the retreat of cranks and visionaries, and of hopelessly unsuccessful aspirants for place—the rejected material of the other parties. Without a party organization, for the distribution of offices, the Prohibitionists can compel one or both of the great parties to grant all that they ask, which is the only possible way by which to succeed.

AN UNSOLVED SOCIAL PROBLEM.

It is the commonly accepted opinion that a people or nation of a lower civilization, brought into close contact with a higher, tends toward extinction. This opinion, however, though seldom called in question, may not be so invariably correct as is usually supposed, and yet a large array of facts may be presented that seem to sustain it; but no reasons that appear altogether satisfactory for this order of things have been assigned. Those that are usually offered, and which seem plausible enough at first sight, soon become either greatly weakened or fairly broken down under a more critical and searching examination. There are, however, enough of facts, that are not to be denied, to make out a *prima facie* case, and so to afford an occasion for an inquiry after their cause.

A writer in the "Popular Science Monthly" for December, treating of this subject, concedes the general correctness of the prevalent opinion, and attempts to assign reasons for the recognized facts, which, however, with all the advantages of a skillful putting, only partially sustain his positions, and still leave ample space for questionings ending in uncertainty. A very considerable array of facts may be presented which, taken alone, and without considering other and opposing ones, would seem to sustain the popular opinion, and to indicate that the supposed tendency is founded upon some universal law of life; but the number of unquestionable facts that refuse to conform to that law is so considerable that the universality at first so plausible is rendered very doubtful. The case of the Northern nations that overran Middle and Southern Europe in the times of the decline and dissolution of the Roman Empire, which the writer referred to adduces in proof, will scarcely apply in this case, for the old

civilization had already lost its vitality; nor did the invading nations die out in the contact, but they largely coalesced with the people among whom they came, and became assimilated to them in character and manners.

In our own times three test cases have been wrought out, each one on an extensive scale; these are, those of the South Sea Islanders, the American Indians, and the Africo-Americans. The history of the aborigines of the Spanish American States—to whom that writer makes no reference—would also afford abundant materials for illustrating the subject, and the result of the consideration of its facts would not at all strengthen the popular opinion. The South Sea Islanders have been, within the last hundred years, in a large portion of their tribes or kingdoms, civilized and Christianized by Protestant missionaries, and, simultaneously with that transition, there has been a steady and rather rapid decline in their population. In the Sandwich Islands, where the work of transformation has been very rapid, and comparatively thorough, this decline has been especially marked. The work of Christianization began with them in 1820, when the population of these islands is supposed to have been not much less than 150,000 souls. In 1830, there were over 130,000; and from that date the decline continued till 1872, when there was found to be less than 57,000. The next six years showed a gain of about 1,000, but during that time more than 2,000 immigrants had been introduced. "The history of the Hawaiian Islands for the last sixty years," the writer concludes, "might be almost condensed in three words—Christianization, civilization, extermination." But looking beyond this group of islands, and considering the cases of other but kindred races, it will be found that among the Maoris of New Zealand, who surely have not suffered from either Christianization or civilization, the process of extermination has gone forward no less certainly and fatally.

It was our good fortune, some ten years ago, to make the journey from San Francisco to Omaha, in a palace car, with a highly intelligent gentleman from the Sandwich Islands, a native of Connecticut, but who had resided for thirty-five years in those islands—first as a secular agent for the American Board of Missions, and later in mercantile business, and also as a member of the government. He recognized the fact that the population seemed to be dying out, and also that the decay affected about equally those most thoroughly Christianized and civilized and those least affected by contact with foreigners—for the people of some of the outlying islands are still but little removed from their primitive heathenism. In answer to our inquiry for some explanation of a phenomenon at once so strange and so sad, he confessed that he could assign no natural cause for it, but declared his belief that it was not at all due to their contact with the strangers that had come among them, whether bringing the virtues or the vices of civilization. His only theory of the case was expressed in the simple but fearful words, "It seems to be God's will." These things, and especially the fact that the whole Polynesian races, Christian and pagan alike, and whether in contact with the higher civilization or quite isolated from it, appear to be dying out, seem to indicate

that its cause must be sought for in some other direction than contact with foreigners.

In our own country we have two races of men, wholly distinct and widely dissimilar, who have been all along in near or more distant contact with the whites—the Indians and the Negroes. Respecting the former, the common opinion, no doubt, is that they are steadily, and not very slowly, dying out; but the foundation for that belief is much less certain than is usually supposed. We have no trustworthy evidence respecting the number of the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory of the United States three hundred years ago. Some have estimated it as high as half a million, and others, about equally uninformed, have set it down at little more than half that aggregate. In 1830 it was written down, rather by a guess than from duly ascertained facts, at about 313,000, and ten years later, 400,000; in 1855, 350,000; in 1872, 300,000; and in 1879, nearly 253,000. The evident uncertainty of these estimates renders them almost entirely unavailable for any accurate comparison; but they leave the general impression that, on the whole, there are somewhat fewer Indians within the national territory than there were two or three hundred years ago—though the diminution has not been so great as has usually been supposed. It is also believed by some, well informed in such matters, that the dying out had begun before the white man came among them. The eastern and northern tribes have certainly declined, partly, no doubt, by the excess of deaths over births, and partly by the absorption of individuals into the larger and more prosperous tribes; but the southern tribes have steadily increased, and especially so since their settlement in the Indian Territory. It is now also pretty clearly ascertained that among the tribes that reside east of the Rocky Mountains the decadence has been arrested, and that the tide is setting in the opposite direction. Their closer contact with the civilization and religion of the whites appears to be no longer so fatal as it has been assumed that it must be.

The African race present a set of facts that entirely fail to sustain, but rather contradict, the popular theory. They were certainly, at first, as completely savage as any others, and yet they have steadily flourished in the presence of the white man, and they have also readily yielded to both his civilization and his religion. While in slavery they increased like Israel in Egypt, and in freedom they are even more prolific. As a race they have taken kindly to their new environments, and are as completely naturalized and nationalized as any of the people of the land, and evidently they are numerically the coming sub-nationality of the country.

The race problem in the United States is certainly as yet unsolved, and the wisest among us are very slow to predict what must be its outcome; and yet we think there are signs of promise in the face of the political and social heavens. Quite possibly the Polynesian races may be destined to become extinct—if so, because God wills it; but for the aboriginal American races, and still more for the Africo-Americans—already Christianized citizens of the Great Republic, and also the most thorough Protestants, as well as most intense patriots—the outlook is full of promise.

There is also a correlated deduction, suggested by the conditions of the problem that we are considering, respecting the probable future of the original American stock that first settled the country and built up its frame-work of social and political life. Not only has this stream been sadly diluted by foreign admixtures, by which its outward characteristics are becoming effaced; but statistics seem to indicate that the older populations are relatively less productive than are the new-comers. The ante-Revolutionary families are steadily diminishing relatively, and that quite beyond their numerical proportions, and their places are being filled by the newly arrived, or their children of the first or second generation. But there remains this consolation, that such is the assimilating power of the original American character, that all that come into contact with it yield to its energy and are unconsciously changed into its likeness. And if that be so, what need for any concern for physical ancestry of race or color? With such characteristics wrought into his very being, whatever the race or condition of the citizen, he is a man "for a' that," and what more need be desired?

ABOUT EVOLUTION.

The epidemic of "evolution" has made its appearance in a new quarter, and that about the last place that might have been suspected of liability to so great a danger. In two theological seminaries of the staid and conservative Presbyterian Church there have lately been signs of its presence, and the requisite measures have been adopted to prevent its spreading, and for stamping it out effectually. The Southern Presbyterians have a seminary at Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, in which there is an endowed Professorship of Natural Science as related to Theology, of which Rev. Dr. Woodrow is the incumbent; and quite legitimately, and in pursuance of the manifest design of his "foundation," the good doctor discussed his designated specialty from his professorial chair. In doing this he brought out certain rather fanciful speculations respecting the genesis of the parents of our race, which, of course, were not in harmony with the traditional orthodoxy and Presbyterianism, especially that of the Southern type, which is nothing if it is not conservative. The result has been that the whole body, within the entire region to the south of Mason and Dixon's line, has been thrown into a ferment. Its papers have wept over so sad a dereliction, and have fulminated terrible things against the recusant teacher, and presbyteries and synods have voted, by large majorities, that the doctrine of evolution is a pestilent heresy that must not be tolerated in either the pulpit or the seminary. And so, to the extent of the authority of those grave bodies, that matter is disposed of—though possibly some one may be reminded of the Pope's bull against the comet, or the burial of Sir John Barleycorn.

Before the bruit of the Southern conflict had fairly settled into silence, the announcement was made that Professor Kellogg, of the seminary

at Allegheny, had expressed himself in a way to occasion uneasiness among the especially cautious defenders of the faith, as defined in the Westminster documents. But now that wise teacher makes haste to set himself right with his brethren, by roundly denying that he is an "evolutionist;" but he follows this with certain professions of belief, which but for his disclaimer might have indicated his near affinity with those who are not so careful as he seems to be to purge themselves from the suspicion of favoring the deprecated heresy, so-called. He does a sensible thing, however, when he says that the evolutionists have never demonstrated their theory: he might have gone further, and declared that they never will do it—simply because the facts that would be necessary for its proofs are not within reach, nor can it be certainly demonstrated that they exist. But after all, Professor Kellogg gives away the case of his co-religionists when he concedes that there is nothing in evolution, as a scientific hypothesis, that need give the least possible alarm to any believer in the Bible and in the God of the Bible.

The manner in which this whole subject has been treated is very far from edifying. First, the infidel scientists, from a few partially ascertained and very imperfectly collated facts, leaped to the conclusion that they had effectually overthrown every possible form and degree of supernaturalism, and they so proclaimed with undisguised pleasure. And then the friends of the Bible, taking the alarm, began to discredit, not simply the conclusions of their assailants, but their indubitable facts, and the few clearly ascertained principles deduced from them. The result has been a war of words, not at all creditable to either party. But a third class—neither infidels nor blinded followers of traditional opinions—have dared to look into these things in order to find what they do really teach. The full report of their studies and examinations has not been published—probably it never will be made so full and complete as to be no longer susceptible of additions and emendations; but this much is clearly determined—that all that has been proved by the researches made in the science of nature has failed to cast the shadow of a doubt upon any of the great and saving truths of religion, as they are revealed in the Scriptures, and cherished in the hearts of believers, and conserved by the living Church. Nor is there any cause for misgiving in respect to any thing that science may hereafter demonstrate—for the plane of its operations and that of the supernatural truths of religion are not the same, and by no possible extension can the former come into collision with the latter. The highway of faith is all its own: the eagle's eye has not seen nor the lion's whelp trod it.

The worst service that can be done for religion, in this business, is that rendered by its incompetent would-be defenders, who, with more zeal than discretion, rush into the contest against more expert antagonists, either to be discomfited in attempting to defend what is not true, or to give away their cause by false concessions. A large share of the discussions of these matters, heard from the pulpit or found in the newspapers, come within the range of this criticism. Only those thoroughly learned in

the points at issue can discuss them in the pulpit, except to betray the cause they would defend, and the best learned will not be apt to bring them there at all. There is reason to believe that this folly is not much less in fashion than it was a few years ago.

The history of ecclesiastical proceedings in respect to the findings of science is not altogether an honorable one, as may be seen in such cases as that of Galileo. The literalistic theory of biblical interpretation which controlled the thinking mind of Christendom from a very early age of the Church down to the immediate past—and it is still powerful to mislead—has compelled the Church, first to antagonize the progress of science, and then to retreat before it. So it fought the Copernican system, but was compelled at last to yield the point; and so, for a long time, it held on to the six solar days of creation, till for very shame it could hold out no longer. Perhaps it has not yet fully given it up. But a better method of thinking is now almost universally accepted by those who must dictate the opinions of the Church of the future, which demands that spiritual Christianity shall not be subjected to scientific tests or modes of thought. Such subjects as the methods of creation, the age of the world, the genesis of living things, and the development of species, all belong to the same class with the laws of gravitation, the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the precession of the equinoxes; and none of them fall within the sphere of theology. They are all of the earth earthy, and should be left for secular men to deal with. "We have a more sure word of prophecy."

LESSONS FROM THE CENTENNIAL.

The great Methodist "Centennial" of 1884 has passed into history, and so is brought within the field of vision of the reviewer. We are careful to indicate its date, for this is the third of its kind that has occurred within the memory of many now living. Forty-five years earlier, in 1839, came the Centenary of the founding of the first "Societies" by the Wesleys, which event was duly commemorated, especially by the Methodists of Great Britain. In 1866 was celebrated the Centenary of American Methodism, which, it was assumed, without overmuch regard for historical and chronological accuracy, belonged to that year, and this was chiefly an affair of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by which it was turned to good account historically, religiously, and financially. That now just passed was entirely American, but was more comprehensive than either of the former, because it included all kinds and forms of Methodists on the continent. This comprehensiveness, while abating somewhat its ecclesiasticism, indicated the essential unity of the many varieties of the common genus, and also displayed the magnitude of the proportions to which the "plant" has attained. The statistics presented would seem almost alarming to any one at all distrustful of vast concentrations of power, were it not that the

lack of organic unity and the exceeding flexibility of all its forms of government fully guard against any possible danger from that source. The unity of Methodism, like that of "the Holy Catholic Church," is spiritual and not organic, religious and not ecclesiastical, all of which the occasion abundantly illustrated and emphasized; and in proportion as the organic and ecclesiastical conditions were kept out of sight, the oneness of essential Methodism became all the more manifest; and accordingly the assembly so brought together and constituted found itself free to devote its opportunities to social and congratulatory expressions, to reminiscences of past achievements, and to the glorification of its "heroes," instead of earnest deliberations on measures and methods of action; and within its purposes the "Conference" seems to have been a decided success.

These things are, however, still in the condition of passing affairs, and scarcely sufficiently matured to be considered in their completed results; and for their making up we must await the publication of the volume that shall give the proceedings in detail, with the papers read and considered. But some of the principal facts of the case were manifest and complete in themselves, and these are, perhaps, the most significant and suggestive of all that appeared on the occasion, and these fall within the range of our appropriate discussions.

To the thoughtful observer the most notable fact of the gathering was the *bigness* of the constituency represented. Each delegate had behind him more than twenty thousand church members, or fifty thousand persons, of various ages and relations. And besides these, with a less direct and more distant, but still somewhat effective, relationship, as many more. Reckoning the population of the country as one half, that is, twenty-five millions, really and effectively Protestant,—including in the other half the Romanists and all kinds and classes of quasi-religionists and the entirely irreligious,—it is not too much to claim for Methodism ten millions of these as of its type, and most nearly subject to its influences. To this estate it has attained, in very little more than a hundred years, by its aggressive energy, for it is at once the youngest of the great divisions of American Protestantism, and it has won its way against the opposition of all others, rather than with their favor; which facts certainly speak well for the effectiveness of its methods. But to the serious and conscientious Methodist observer these wonderful facts must suggest the most sobering reflections. They show to what a condition of responsibility the divine Providence has brought this body of Christians, and how great is the duty that comes with such opportunities; and they suggest that while there may be a degree of fitness in looking back and pausing to recount the wonderful things that God has wrought out for this people, there is also great need to remember the admonition against boasting before the victory is achieved. For a hundred years Methodism has been gathering her recruits, and preparing for the impending campaign against the powers of darkness; but the heaviest battles are yet to be fought, and the victory, already assured, must be won by mighty faith manifesting itself in indomitable labors and self-denials.

As in military affairs mere numbers are not a certain guarantee of success, quite as much so does this consideration apply to church work; and, therefore, in estimating the power and availability of Methodism, other properties and conditions must be taken into the account. And here, while we must freely confess our great and sad deficiencies, and our lamentable failures to measure up to the required conditions for realizing the high ideals of Christian aggressiveness, it is due both to the cause and to ourselves to properly appreciate all the advantages that we have. The place of Methodism in American Protestantism is a decidedly advantageous one. Its numerical greatness is a fact not to be despised, for it gives both strength and opportunities, and compels the respectful recognition of the other divisions of the "grand army." Its theological atmosphere has extended itself over the whole evangelical host; its spiritual tone and life has permeated it and become its own; while its liberal and flexible organization adapts it to all emergencies, and its aggressive methods fit it especially for the work most needed to be done. The keynote struck by Wesley, in his sermons "Against Bigotry" and "On a Catholic Spirit," has never been lost by his followers; for though there may have been individual cases of narrowness, yet these have been only exceptional and outside of the prevailing spirit of the body. It is by the influence of this spirit that the essential unity of Methodism has been maintained in all lands, and among widely variant ecclesiastical organisms and social customs; and by virtue of it the wide chasm that originally separated it from all other evangelical denominations has been effectually bridged. Its attitude, even more than its words, toward Christians of other names has been that indicated by the Psalmist, "I am a companion of all them that fear the Lord, and of them that keep his precepts." It is pronounced in all its purposes, readily declaring for the right, without waiting to see whether or not it is likely to be popular. It is instinctively aggressive, alike in spirit and in form; it is all alive, with a wonderful facility for casting off any effete and non-adjustable parts—altogether a vast reservoir of religious potentialities, as yet only very partially realized.

In two directions—in learning and wealth—Methodism has very largely increased its resources and capabilities, and, it may be feared, without a corresponding increase of its moral and religious efficiency. They who have been most closely related to the mind and thought of the denomination for the past half century are the best prepared to appreciate the very great advances that have been made. We talk and write of our great men of the times of the fathers; and they were great in their adaptations and in their work. They belonged to their own age, and nobly measured up to its requirements, and achieved great results. But changed conditions make other and vastly increased demands upon the men of the present time, for which their enlarged advantages, to a good degree, qualify them; and these also lay upon them the most sacred obligations. Whether with these advantages they still retain the spirit and devotion of the fathers is a question of the highest significance. The Head of the Church has not brought together this host, so disciplined and qualified,

For these original ideas, notions, or conceptions—"common-sense" beliefs, Reid calls them—man is no more responsible than an elephant for his proboscis, or the sun for his rising.

However, let us guard this point. Though not responsible for his intuitions, man is nevertheless responsible for their use or application. It is true they impel him; it is equally true he uses them. They are the natural instruments of character, ever dominant and self-acting, and yet the subjects of training, development, and education. No one is responsible for having a conscience; he is responsible for the use he makes of it. He may bandage, suppress, bury the natural forces of character, the volitional energies of mind, the intuitional revelations of the soul, in which case he will inflict damage upon himself; or he may conform to righteousness and obtain its rewards, by the culture of consciousness and giving to the intuitions the right of way in his life. An uncultured conscience may provoke fanaticism just as an unenlightened judgment may turn to superstition. If in their "raw" condition the intuitions are sensitive and impelling, what would be their force if trained, matured, and regulated in activity? The power to hinder the intuitions and the power to invigorate and employ them is the measure of the responsibility for their use.

The second class of beliefs we denominate reflective or derivative, inasmuch as they are not original with nature, or the spontaneous products of the consciousness. Professor Bowne ("Metaphysics," page 16) says: "Very many of our beliefs are effects, and not conclusions. They are produced in us, and not deduced by us." A spontaneous belief is an effect of nature; a deduced belief is a conclusion from investigation of facts, principles, relations, and must, therefore, be voluntary. Evidence, inquiry, and knowledge, absent in spontaneous belief, are the conditions of a reflective belief which gains in trustworthiness according to the investigation that has preceded it. A spontaneous belief precedes investigation, is not dependent on it, though it acquires strength from knowledge; a reflective belief succeeds investigation, and is baseless without it. The former is an unoriginated certainty; the latter is a creative form of thought, resulting from comparison of facts, and a purpose to harmonize them in the unity of a formula of faith.

Evidently, for a reflective belief, derived from the directive work of the mind, man is thoroughly responsible. The duty to believe any thing beyond the revelations of consciousness imposes the duty to investigate the subject proposed to our credence, and to believe only as the facts warrant. To this law of faith even scriptural truth is subject, since it addresses human intelligence, and appeals to the reason and to experience for confirmation. To exempt divine revelation from the rule of investigation would amount to a confession that it cannot be investigated, that is, that, being supernatural in character, it is entirely beyond rational apprehension, which, if true, would unfit it for human scrutiny; or, that it cannot *bear* investigation, which implies that it is not what it professes to be,—in which case it should be abandoned. This is an era of "biblical criticism," the justification of which is, that divine truth in the written form,

as we have it, is a proper subject for investigation. Of the results of such criticism let no one be afraid, since a belief founded on rational inquiry will be more permanent than that superstitious reverence for truth which has too much characterized the past, and even the religious world itself.

Infidelity, rationalism, mysticism, spiritualism, Universalism, Roman Catholicism, considered as beliefs in reference to religious truth, are not spontaneous, but reflective; they are not inspirations, either of consciousness or of the divine Spirit, but the products of voluntary inquiry for which the inquirer is justly responsible. In proportion to his inquiry or the data he gathers, he believes. On insufficient data he predicates a baseless conclusion, behind which he cannot shelter himself with the insincere plea that he cannot control his convictions. Belief arising from data, except those of consciousness, he must fashion according to the demands of evidence, and accept the results. Hence, the fearful responsibility that attaches to voluntary belief, of which kind is the whole brood of skepticisms which it is the business of this age to correct and annihilate. Unbelief is not a spontaneous state, but a reflective or derivative, and therefore voluntary, conclusion; consciousness is antagonistic to doubt and never inspires it; hence, the doubter is responsible for his doubt. Both Bacon and Descartes initiated, the one science and the other philosophy, with the principle of doubt; it was voluntary, it was purposed. So all doubt is a reflective conclusion, reflective, that is, voluntary, even when it assumes the form of unintelligent stubbornness. It is not difficult, then, to indicate the bounds and limitations of human belief, or the nature and extent of human responsibility. Both intuitional and reflective beliefs involve the duty of self-enlightenment, the one for a right use of the spontaneous products of consciousness, the other for a proper development of the discursive reason, the instrument of all voluntary, and therefore responsible, faith.

J. W. M.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

The story of the Anabaptists in the Venetian territory in the middle of the sixteenth century, by Dr. Karl Beurath, "*Studien und Kritiken*," is quite an addition to the history of the collateral workers during the Reformation. Very little has hitherto been known of the movements, in any portion of papal Italy, of the sect then called Anabaptists. We have lengthy histories of their labors in Holland, Switzerland, and even in Spain, in which latter country they were treated with the most revolting severity.

The history before us is a succinct account of the doings of these Reformers in northern Italy, many of whom were fanatical in their opinions and aggressive in their modes. The more sensible wing of these Protestants endeavored to work in harmony with the Lutheran platform,

and corresponded both with Luther and Melanchthon; whereas a more advanced faction were so radical in their doctrines and teachings as to make themselves offensive to the leaders of the German Reformation, and very unpleasant companions to the Catholic Italians. The Church, therefore, watched their activity with a very jealous eye, and finally adopted stringent and remorseless measures to suppress them or drive them out of the country.

They, however, at last became so numerous that they determined to hold a council in Venice, in September, 1550. In this council each congregation was represented by two delegates. The number that came was surprising even to the participants themselves, for although not every congregation was able to send its representatives, there were nevertheless sixty of these present, twenty or thirty being from Switzerland. Among the members on the roll of this order appear a great many Italian names that seem strangely out of place in a history of the Protestant Reformation. The participants were mostly poor, and of course they were friendless in the great city of Venice. Their traveling expenses were paid by their constituents, and they were obliged to provide for their own wants while there. Their proceedings, which bore the external character of religious fervor, were not marked by strong religious belief. They denied the divinity of Christ, the existence of angels, and a devil. They declared that the grave is the only hell, where the wicked remain always, but whence the chosen are delivered by the call of God.

Such doctrines, of course, separated them from the Lutheran workers in the Reformation on the one hand, while it made them more offensive to the papal authorities on the other, and alienated them from large numbers of their own brethren. These utterances gave an impulse to their persecution on the part of the local authorities. The magistrates of various cities ordered them to be punished or exiled, and in the bitterness of controversy the good and the bad among them were alike victims of persecution. The result was, that the true and fervent Christians among them appealed to their Protestant brethren in other lands, and received such sympathy and advice as these could give. They looked with special hope and love to the Moravian Brethren, who aided as far as possible the orthodox wing of these Protestant Christians. From the confessions that were forced from many who were imprisoned, information was gained in regard to many others, and thus the Propaganda soon came into possession of quite a list of these Italian Anabaptists, and proceeded to persecute them. We need hardly say that the agency for this work was the Inquisition; and indeed the "Sacred Office," as it is called, had its fill of congenial work. It found in Venice several lowly tradesmen, in Padua a baker and his wife, and in Vicenza five, of whom one was quite an influential member of society and of the sect. But amid all this suffering the letters and diaries of some of these men, of which we find extracts in this article, breathe the firmest confidence that God will lead all to his honor, and beg their brethren in the faith to remain loyal to Christian truth. The entire story of these unfortunate Protestant Christians, and

the sad fate of many of them, adds another gloomy page to the history of Protestant movements in the sixteenth century, and another very disgraceful page to the history of the Romish Church.

The German Church and the Sects.—The State Protestant Church in Germany seems to have a growing, and, we think, a wholesome, fear of the sects. One of its sections recently held a "Church Conference," so called, in the old town of Eisenach, so well known as having been for a time the home of Luther in his early days. This Conference passed certain resolutions designed to protect the State Churches against the activities and separatistic tendencies of what they choose to call the sects, meaning thereby the Baptists and the Methodists. The resolutions passed have caused no little excitement in the camp of these dissenting Christians, and they treat them with great freedom in the organs of the respective denominations.

This "Church Conference" recommends very severe ecclesiastical discipline against these disturbers of the Church's peace, and the "Methodist Evangelist" thus replies in righteous wrath: "The *Church* will exercise discipline, it appears, but it is rather remarkable that it does not seem to incline to put this discipline in practice against the contemners of the divine word, against adulterers and drunkards, but rather against those who love God's word, observe his sacraments, but commit the one great crime in the eyes of the State Church, namely, partake of the Holy Communion with the sects, that is, not within the pale of the Establishment." The Baptist organ recommends its adherents publicly to announce their withdrawal from the State Church. These Eisenach resolutions, which refer to the relation between the State and the sects, demand that the latter shall be allowed no corporate rights or other concessions, and that any new religious societies shall give guarantees to the Church authorities in order to prevent any interruption of ecclesiastical peace, and to put an end to unseemly agitation.

But one may well demand whence this Church Conference obtains the right to declare as outlaws those who do not choose to submit to their assumptions. They certainly do not receive it from the State, for this has been more tolerant to these dissenters than a certain class of the clergy. They do not receive it from the Bible, for the New Testament is emphatic in its warnings against a spirit of persecution. It is quite remarkable that if a Protestant be oppressed in Austria or Spain, the entire religious press of Germany rises in wrath to condemn it. But dissenting Protestants within its own borders may be tormented and threatened with police interference, and no voice is raised against it.

The Latest Waldensian Synod.—The recent Waldensian Synod of that Church in Italy, was held at its head-quarters in Torre-Pellice, and was largely attended. According to custom, a yearly report was presented in regard to the evangelizing work of the Waldensian congregations in the valleys. The most important subjects presented to the body

were the opening of the large Waldensian Church in Rome and the great growth of their evangelizing work on the island of Sardinia. Their success there was attributed to the isolation of the island from the corrupting influence of modern enlightenment, which in the main-land of Italy seems to have led to so much decided unbelief.

A question of exceeding interest to this synod was that of a union of all the Protestant Churches, which is just now quite an exciting one for Italy, and is engaging the attention of all branches of Italian Protestantism. The two Baptist branches, that is, the open and the close communion, are coming together as one Baptist Church. And the Waldensian Synod resolved to send delegates to the Evangelical Italian Congress, which shall officially discuss the mode and character of the proposed union. And even more important was the fact that the Free Church, which separated from the Waldenses thirty years ago, and since that time has held very strained relations with it, declared at this synod, through its official delegates, that if the federalism or union of all the Italian Churches should not be brought about, that they, at least, would enter into union with the Waldensian Church. The leader of the Free Church had previously addressed a question to the committee of the Waldenses in this intent, which had been very kindly received, and a meeting of the principal leaders of the two Churches, held privately in Florence, gave reason to hope for success in this effort. That committee recommended that the synod take the proper steps to effect a reunion, and this recommendation was unanimously indorsed, and a committee of the synod was directed to confer with the committee of the Free Church as to the mode of organization.

The reports from the congregations in the valleys were not so favorable as the past successes of these fervent and zealous Waldensians would lead us to hope and expect. Their communicants are notably decreasing in numbers. Only about half of their members take part in the service of the Lord's Supper. Even a greater indifference is discovered in the electoral lists, on which only about one fourth of the members entitled to communion are enregistered. Great complaints are also made about the increasing alienation of the young men from the Church, and a consequent sinking of the moral level of the Waldensian youth. The glorious past of the Waldenses ought to lay a sacred trust on the rising generation.

The theological literary world of Germany is now quite excited with a matter of unusual interest made known to them by the report of a new "find," in the line of inscriptions, through a German traveler in Arabia. Dr. Enting of Strasburg, having visited Palmyra in the summer of last year, brought from there an impression of several inscriptions in two languages found on gravestones, altars, and among nunneries. He then undertook a dangerous journey from Damascus to central Arabia, which brought him to Hayel, the capital city of the Emir Mohammed Raschid, and thence westward to the city of Tema. In these primeval regions he discovered a stone with an Aramaic inscription, and the pictures of a king in Assyrian costume of about the eighth century before Christ. He then

visited the ruins of several other cities, where he discovered about thirty well-preserved inscriptions from the period of the Christian era. One of these "finds" consisted of short inscriptions in characters hitherto unknown, apparently a side branch of the ancient southern Arabian character. Most of these inscriptions, together with a number of other monumental inscriptions, have been brought to Germany, and forwarded as far as the University of Strasburg.

The friends of scientific Scripture study are greatly pleased at the completion of the biblical hand-lexicon of Dr. Riehm. Evangelical Germany now possesses what it has hitherto lacked, namely, an illustrated Bible lexicon of surrounding lands, especially of England, which in regard to its contents, its execution, and its general arrangement as a book of reference for all the biblical sciences, but mainly of antiquarian and biblical history, is superior to any predecessor in this line. Like all previous works of Dr. Riehm, it has been executed with conscientious care, and with a thorough knowledge of the subjects presented, both on his part and on that of the many illustrious biblical scholars who have co-operated with him. These, like the author himself, belong to the generation of middle-aged scholars, especially in the Old Testament field, who avoid the hypercritical tendencies of the theologians and orientalists of a younger school. These Christian workers tread lightly where others might rush in, but to their conservative care we owe the fact that many of the articles in this work are of rare value; and the now completed issue will, without doubt, immediately take its place among the standard works of all the German theological libraries.

The congregations of the so-called "Christian Brothers" are unveiled in a recent Catholic statistical publication, and the world is quite surprised to find these Catholic teachers of the lower order of schools so very numerous. There are about 1,200 members of this order, about half of these with vows for life, some 4,000 of these with limited vows, and the remainder as novices. They live in about 1,200 "Houses" and control more than 1,700 schools, some of which are public, but more of which are private elementary schools. A goodly number of them are for adults, and some for apprentices. In short, the whole organization seems to aim at getting control of the lower order of studies, to keep these grades out of the hands of individuals or of the State. Over 300,000 pupils are reported as being on their rolls. The order is scattered over various lands, about as follows: France and its principal colonies have nearly a thousand of these "Houses," with about 9,000 members; Belgium has 41, with 550 members; North America, 96, with 971 members; South America, 11, with 71 members. And so the list goes on through Spain, England, Austria, Italy, Turkey, and Egypt, and even China. Their activity has been most largely developed in Paris, where they were formerly teachers in the public city schools. Having been expelled from these, they now have their private free schools for the general Catholic public.

The increase of suicide abroad is attracting very general attention, and a thesis recently published by a prominent divine thus treats of this growing danger to modern society: "Christianity alone has the power to antagonize the frightful increase of suicide in civilized lands. The Evangelical Church should consider itself under special obligation to fight this evil, because it is in its lands that it has so largely spread. Where this faith, as in Scotland, has retained its unbroken power, the number of suicides is comparatively small. Therefore, if the ruling effort were to keep pure the Protestant faith, to keep the individual members of the Church loyal to the word and to the sacraments, the result would be clearly felt in the control of this crime. And, further, it is the duty of this Church to stop as far as possible those sources whence spring the mania for self-destruction, especially the passion for drink and gambling, licentious sins, a vile press, and dueling. The Church should have a large share in the transformation and amelioration of the social relations. It should show its condemnation of suicide by denying Church honors to suicides, and refusing to them a public burial. The participation of the Church at the burial of a suicide contradicts the divine ordinances in honoring those who despise the divine word. Only in suicides from well-defined cases of insanity should an exception be made. And even in this case it would be well to make the interment more liturgical than churchly."

Many of the German synods are discussing the burning question of assistance to needy worn-out preachers. The "Pastor Emeritus" is quite an institution in some of these synods, and they receive more or less from the emeritus fund according to the respective provinces. But the main subject of discussion now concerns the income of the poorer clergy, which is very small in many sections. These receive a fixed stipend from the State, or, as it is expressed, "by royal sanction;" but this is so small that in many cases it must be supplemented by the respective congregations, or the preachers must lead a miserable life with a very strained existence. An effort is now being made by the General Synod to compel, as far as possible, the special synods to do their duty in this matter. A fixed sum is recommended for churches according to their rank, and in some measure according to the years of service of the pastor. But many of the parishes to whom this dictature is addressed are resenting it, and feel much inclined to follow their own inclinations in this matter, guided by the circumstances as they understand them. The German pastor in the rural districts is a man of very controlling influence in all the religious and social relations of the people. In very many cases, he is so endeared to his parish that they cannot afford to see him want, and do not. But in very many cases, also, for various reasons, the pastor is forced to supplement his slender income by also performing the part of local teacher.

The fact must attract the attention of every observer of the religious activities of European Christians during the summer and autumnal months, that there has practically been almost no end to congresses, convocations,

synods, alliances, and associations in the interest of every line of thought and religious effort. Two of these that may be called representative in their character, and which most closely resemble each other for their style of labor, though contrasting in aims, are the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, and the famous Catholic Congress at Amberg in Germany. The editor, who was present at the former, felt the beneficent influence of a spirit of genuine liberalism at the hearth-stone of a Church which has preserved, more than any other in Protestantism, the tradition of ancient Lutheranism. He acknowledges that the new conditions arising in the religion of our epoch are very grave, and agrees with Christlieb in his view of the religious indifferentism of the period. The question of the hour is not so much to preserve the heritage of the fathers as to reconquer lost soil. This is to be done by the sword of the Spirit and the propagandism of free speech. The Gospel and liberty should be the device of the Christian Church; even science should have its liberty, and as far as possible there should be no conflict between this and religion.

The General Assembly of the German Catholics, in session about the same period at Amberg, debated from their point of view some of the same questions that were so thoroughly canvassed at Copenhagen. The most absorbing one of these was the mode to be adopted by the Catholic Church to reconquer the soil lost and to regain influence lost or weakened. These German Catholics declared that the first measure to be adopted was to gather closely around the Church of Rome, and to exalt more than ever the authority of the holy father. The letter addressed by the pope to this congress was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and there seemed to be a most emphatic determination to recognize the authority of the pope as infallible. At the last session the entire assembly cast itself on its knees in order the more emphatically to affirm this absolute submission. This adoration of the papacy was in very strange contrast to the conduct of the German bishops after the adoption of the famous dogma of the papal council of 1870. It is clear that ultramontanism has triumphed in Germany all along the line, not only in the matter of the infallibility of the Pope, but also of the immaculate conception of the Virgin. This decisive triumph in Germany is due largely to the terrible and stubborn struggle between the Catholic Church and the German Empire.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The Centennial Conference of Episcopal Methodism has been held, and the general verdict—both of participants and more distant critics—seems to be that it was greatly successful, both in the immediate spiritual impulse of the gathering, and in the valuable contributions made by its members to the permanent literature of the denomination. The leading

religious papers throughout the country reported the particulars of each session very fully, and the secular press, both by report and comment, paid due attention to the importance and dignity of the Conference. Baltimore entertained its guests with unbounded hospitality. The enthusiasm was great, and exceptionally continuous in its manifestation, so that it is not possible by the reproduction of a few salient features to fairly portray the entire assembly. An attempt in that direction, however, is all that space allows.

There was much in the background of the scene, and in its incidental features, to add to its picturesque impressiveness. A wonderful contrast was pre ented by the magnificent gothic church in which the delegates assembled to the bare little chapel figured on the programmes, in which the first General Conference was held. The great outpourings of sacred melody, when the sweetest and grandest hymns of the Church were sung to historic chorals—Methodist tunes that never can die—will not soon be forgotten by those who heard them. The presence and admirable performance of many men of color was eminently noteworthy. A few venerable representatives of a former generation were there—some "in age and feebleness" extreme, but all with hearts of loyalty and thankfulness and utterances of pathos and inspiration.

If any feared that the Conference would degenerate into a mere occasion for prolonged denominational glorification they must have been happily disappointed. The tone of the papers read was certainly not pessimistic; nevertheless, no disposition was shown to evade the consideration of dangerous tendencies, wherever discovered. Some regret was at first expressed because of the monotonous similarity of the topics selected for discussion; but the individual characteristics of the several essayists precluded unnecessary repetition. The forthcoming volume, which is to contain the papers read and the addresses made, will be of exceptional and permanent value.

The "Pastoral Address to the Methodist People in the United States and Canada" calls attention to the fresh and impressive lessons of the history of the first century of organized Methodism, and commends the papers read before the Conference to the prayerful consideration of all. It declares that the mission of Methodism is not yet accomplished—"The victories that thrill and gladden our hearts to-day are but the prophecy of the triumphs in store for us if we prove worthy our calling." The emphasis that Methodists have always given to the essential doctrines of Christianity, and especially to the "doctrines of experience"—repentance, faith, justification, adoption, the witness of the Spirit, sanctification, and Christian perfection—is commended, and watchfulness urged in view of the insidious advances of skepticism. The promotion of holiness; the maintenance of family religion; the devout observance of the Christian Sabbath, and active hostility against all vices are set forth as solemn duties that cannot be shirked or postponed. The rising spirit of fraternity between Churches is hailed as a pleasant indication of the dawn of a day of peace, and the Canadian brethren are congratulated upon the success

which has attended their movement for uniting the forces of Methodism in the Dominion. That the peculiarities of Methodist Church life are still cherished in the hearts of so many is observed with pleasure, while at the same time the exhortation is given to enter all fields of usefulness which the expansion of modern social life may open. It is a document of ability, devout in tone, and it has been received with general favor.

THE BRITISH WESLEYAN CONFERENCE.—The one hundred and forty-first session of the British Conference was held last July at Burslem, a little town on the road between Manchester and Birmingham, in the very heart of the region known as "the Potteries." Just one hundred and twenty-four years ago Mr. Wesley rode into the place. His ministry was greatly successful there, and the neighborhood has ever since been one of the strongholds of Methodism. This was the second time the Conference had met in Staffordshire. The entertainment was sumptuous.

Like their American congeners, the British Wesleyans have just celebrated one of the "centenaries" that so frequently mark the history of venerable historic bodies. That "peculiar institution," the Legal Hundred, was born just one hundred years ago, when Mr. Wesley's Deed of Declaration was executed. The existence of this little select circle in the midst of an ecclesiastical body so Presbyterian in many of its methods as is the Wesleyan Conference cannot but strangely impress an observer whose traditions are of the Methodist-Episcopal type; but it is a legal device, simply a board of trust, with only the least possible trend toward an aristocracy. If the utterance "Happy is the nation without a history" be applicable to religious as well as to political bodies, the Wesleyan Conference is indisputably prosperous. The Rev. F. Greeves, D.D., a well-known minister, was elected President, and the Rev. R. N. Young, one of the deputation to the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, was chosen Secretary. The increase of members of society during the year was more than 3,000. The delivery of the Fernley lecture—this time by the Rev. B. Hellier, on the "Universal Mission of the Church of Christ;" the report of the fraternal delegates to America; the shelving of a preacher who had ceased to believe in the eternity of future punishment; and an earnest and memorable "conversation on the work of God," were among the more conspicuous features of the Conference. Immense missionary meetings and a series of open-air services for working-men made pleasing and healthful accompaniments to the regular business sessions. All the connectional institutions—the Missionary Society; the Wesleyan Theological Institution; the Sunday-School Union; the Metropolitan Building Fund; the Children's Home; the Thanksgiving Fund—are in prosperous condition.

THE SALVATION ARMY.—The crowded public meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, January 12, not only revealed the continued progress of the Salvation Army, but also showed how keenly alive its General is to avail himself of every opening to strengthen its position. The meeting was

held ostensibly to bid farewell to thirty officers—most of whom are young women—who were about to proceed to America, India, France, and New Zealand, to strengthen the army corps in those countries; and General Booth, who presided, made use of the opportunity to report the progress of the Army during the past year. He had about him, besides members of his own family, Mr. T. A. Denny, Mr. Haig Miller, and Dr. and Mrs. Heywood Smith. After singing one of their stirring hymns with all the enthusiasm of the Army's rank and file, and prayer, the General gave a statement of their present condition and future prospects.

He had to report, he said, progress, and hoped to do so to the end of the chapter. He considered the movement as a factor in the future of Christianity in the world. In January, 1883, they had 528 corps in the United Kingdom, with 1,340 officers; they had now 637 corps and 1,644 officers. Abroad, in 1883, they had 106 corps and 201 officers; now 273 corps and 692 officers. In addition to these 910 regular corps, they had occupied 570 villages, and had 415 corps of little soldiers. They were going to advance abroad, but would not neglect their home operations. In hundreds of towns and thousands of villages there was a great work to accomplish, and for this it was intended that caravans should be employed. Mr. Herbert Booth had prepared the plans, and, as soon as the money was ready, they would be built. Ten officers would traverse the country in each caravan—a kind of Wombwell's—with eight sleeping bunks, four on each side, and a cooking-stove in front; two officers would keep guard at night against "skeleton" attacks while the others slept. Each band would go from village to village; while the horses were grazing, the "War Cry" would be sold, the trumpets and cornets brought into use, and he hoped the public houses emptied, while people would gather from twenty miles around. The Army's power of adaptation was unlimited, and in India Major Tucker had started a "Camel Corps," and he (the General) intended to ask the government for a gift of the camels employed in the Soudan after General Gordon had been relieved. Before the meeting was over, several volunteers for this corps were accepted from the "reserved" seats. Among the new agencies started in London by the Army is a "Rescue Society" in St. Giles and Whitechapel; in this "some dear girls, bred up as ladies, have gone with scrubbing-brushes and brooms, cleaned poor homes, washed babes, talked to drunken fathers," and been the means of rescuing some of the most wretched and outcast ones from the slums of London. More workers are wanted for this "Cellar, Garret, and Gutter Brigade." A movement has also been begun in Whitechapel for the rescue of fallen women; no fewer than eighty girls have been cared for, and sixty appear to be permanently reclaimed. The "Drunkard's Rescue Brigade" takes charge of drunken persons ejected from the public houses. The brigade "prowl about the streets," lead drunkards home, give them a preparation of coffee on the way—the coffee being carried in a pouch—and next day "the drunkard and his wife are got to the barracks and saved." The orphans are not neglected. The Army has accepted a freehold house, capable of accommodating 200 chil-

dren, for an orphanage. A "Prison Brigade" has been formed to receive criminals when discharged from jail; seven notorious ones are already earning their living, giving evidence of being converted men. Mrs. Railton had this work in hand, but being now on the ocean with her husband—a journey undertaken to save Commissioner Railton's life—a gentleman has thrown up his commission in the Royal Engineers, retiring with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, to undertake the work and devote his whole life to the Army. The Prison Brigade in Australia has been formaliy recognized. In London a German and, more recently, an Italian corps has been established, and during the first six months of 1885 barracks are to be opened to accommodate 10,000 people—at Kilburn, the West End ("at a nice, snug, beautiful theater"), Marylebone, King's Cross, Holloway, Deptford, Forest Hill, and Clapton. The Army's foreign work is almost self-supporting; last year only £5,000 was raised at home for its prosecution. In Ceylon a surprising work has been achieved; some hundred Buddhists have been converted and received into the Army. China, Spain, and other countries remained to be occupied.

The General's report being finished, the thirty officers were paraded on the platform: he exhorted them to fidelity to duty, and presented them with their commissions, each one being inclosed in an envelope. Loud cries of "Amen!" and "Halleluiah!" with volleys of cheers, came from the rank and file. Mr. T. A. Denny—always present at these meetings, and a large donor to the funds—announced that he would defray the cost of twelve officers in India. Mrs. Booth followed with an earnest and persuasive address. She deplored the refusal of parents and guardians to allow their children or charges to go abroad in the Army service, and boldly advised those young people who are "led" to offer themselves for this work to go, whether they obtained permission or not. The General stated that £480 was needed for the outfit and passage money of the officers, and the general funds could not be burdened with the cost. He appealed for this sum to be contributed, and £200 was raised in response.

The Poor of the Great Cities.—Unusual attention has of late been called to the deplorable condition of the crowded poor in the great cities of Christendom. The deep echoes of half-suppressed Socialistic explosions indicate that the discussion has come none too soon. Not much has hitherto been done beyond a statement of the case—a sort of diagnosis of a great moral and social disease.

A conference was lately held in London at the rooms of the British Social Science Association for the discussion of measures relative to the formation of village communities for the relief of the overcrowded and woefully degraded quarters of the metropolis, and for the collecting and dispensing of such information as should in time, if possible, lead to the removal of numbers of families from the London slums to rural neighborhoods, the establishing of them there in good homes, the providing of them with suitable employment, and other measures essential to the success of such an undertaking. In connection with factory and other artisan work, the

practicability of co-operative farms was discussed, in the hope of being able, soon or later, to imitate in England the example of the numerous communities in Switzerland whose manual working classes, living in their own country-like homes, have a little time toward the close of each day for the tilling of their plots, and the care of their goats and cows, alternating thus their periods of mechanical toil with the salutary and soothing influence of rural life. One of the speakers, Mr. E. T. Craik, had been one of a number of gentlemen to establish a co-operative farm in Ireland, a project that had been regarded with favor by Mr. Parnell, who had also expressed the hope that other lands, in some of the more miserable parts of the island, might be brought into use for similar purposes. Unfortunately, the land-owners of the district had so strongly opposed the project of Mr. Craik and his associates as to thwart it entirely. But while all humane persons must wish the utmost of success for such undertakings, the fact remains that the greater part of the miserably housed and generally wretched of the cities must be cared for where they are, in the place of their dismal abodes. It is these abodes that are to be renovated and improved up to the level of decency and propriety. The families of cigar-makers and of rag-pickers cannot be transported in masses to the country. Not one such family, not one individual of the grade below these, can be transported thus, unwillingly.

A talented writer, who has lately contributed to "The American Reformer" the best statement recently printed of the sufferings of the degraded poor, proceeds, after giving the facts repeated above, to make some eminently sensible suggestions as to the remedy. "The prime effort must be made in procuring for this element of the city populations light, air, space, provisions for some degree of cleanliness in their present quarters. And nothing really is wanting to effect this change but the fixed intention, the resolve, of these ruling classes. Whenever a citizen's association shall take the tenement question in hand, as such associations have already taken the subject of municipal rings and 'bosses' in hand, the horrible quarters of great cities will cease to be horrible. To such a reform the world will accord a not reluctant recognition. It will cheerfully admit that at last it has an example of fraternal regard, of practical Christianity, worthy of the name of the Master. No insuperable obstacle lies in the way of a legislative enactment for the demolition of the rear tenements—buildings that cruelly restrict tens of thousands of human beings in respect of space, and as cruelly shut them off from light and air. The abrogation of these rear houses would be an important initial step in the direction of improvement. A second clause in the enactment should provide the requisite hygienic supply of space, light, and air for the tenement lodgers of the front buildings. Their present overcrowding once made illegal, the recklessness of the builders of these structures and the greed of their landlords would have to give way."

The second proposed remedy is some legal measure which shall suppress the dram shops. Soon after the publication of "The Bitter Cry," when the public feeling of England was deeply stirred by this appeal to its

humanity, a well-known worker among the London poor wrote: "In this hour of interest and of sympathy, we might combine to remove the dwellers of the slums into homes containing all the comforts and beauty of palaces. But, if we left standing near at hand the reeking drink shops, in half a year the new homes would be as squalid, as foul, as hideous every way as the herding places of the slums are to-day." As long as these are permitted to curse the community, all efforts towards lifting up the degraded masses will be almost entirely hopeless.

The evil of overcrowding is not by any means confined to the older countries. The writer already quoted makes the following statement concerning the great metropolis of America: "The city of New York was founded in 1633. Its population, including that of the environs that are properly a part of it, is above two millions. The Christian element of this population is not far from one million. The tenement house population is upward of three hundred thousand. In other words, during a period of two hundred and fifty years the Christianized portion of the citizens of the metropolis have permitted the weaker, the less enlightened, the helpless class of its population, at present numbering nearly one seventh of the entire population, to live deprived of such space, light, and air as are necessary for health and decency, and surrounded with every baleful influence calculated to demoralize and render utterly wretched this lower, feebler class. One would hardly err in affirming that the strong, Christianized class of citizens had deliberately, designedly, fostered a hideous breeding-ground of moral pestilence, a nursery and community of criminals, a quarter for the development of human misery, by permitting the growth of the slums, and by taking practically no measures for the checking of this growth."

Strong as is this arraignment, it perhaps does not present in the strongest light this awful truth. The following table gives some comparative figures:

	Population.	Houses.	Average inmates per house.
Philadelphia	847,170	146,412	6
Brooklyn	566,663	62,233	9
Saint Louis	350,518	43,026	8
Chicago	503,185	61,069	8¼
Baltimore	332,313	50,833	6½
Boston	362,839	43,944	8¼
New York	1,206,689	73,684	16½

Even this table fails to convey all the truth. In New York city 10,314 dwellings contain each one family of six persons; 16,982 houses or flats contain one family on each floor, or 25 persons in each building; while 18,966 tenements contain an average of about 50 persons each, or almost a million in all. This million is unprecedentedly crowded, and its physical and moral unhappiness and misery clamor for means of relief. Mayor Edson hardly exaggerated when he said: "The question of comfortable city homes for our poor is quite as important as that of foreign missions." And yet even he dared not touch the chief cause of all this wretchedness.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

Missionary Successes in Central Africa. — The latest mail from Uganda, at the northern end of Lake Victoria Nyanza, Central Africa, brings some very interesting letters from the missionaries of the Church (Evangelical Anglican) Missionary Society. In our January number we spoke of this mission, the difficulties it had met, and its prospects. King Mtesa, who at first gave the missionaries much trouble, and made their work almost futile by his sudden changes of opinion, is now quite friendly to them, and the mission is very prosperous. The number of converts is increasing rapidly, the schools are well patronized, and the native worship of Lubari and the religion of the Arabs are declining. Mr. O'Flaherty, one of the missionaries, gives a very interesting account of a trial before the king, between himself and four of the Arabs, to see whether he or they had the better understanding of the "Koran." The Arabs had become very loud and impertinent, and were present nearly every day in court teaching the "Koran" to the chiefs. Mr. O'Flaherty, thinking that their baleful influence had gone far enough, proposed to Mtesa a contest. The king gladly consented to it. He ordered five chairs to be set before him, four for the principal Arabs, and one for the missionary, and proclaimed that whoever answered best should be his head professor and teacher. The day before the trial took place he invited Mr. O'Flaherty to dine with him, and got many hints from him as to the sort of questions he should ask. We will let Mr. O'Flaherty describe the scene:

> Next day he [Mtesa] placed the five mwalimus on the chairs; I was placed near himself. The king questioned, I prompting him. In the course of fifty minutes all the Arabs were off the chairs except Masudi, an arch-foe, and now a powerful sub-chief here, the most clever of all. He and I now confronted each other. Greek met Greek. The king was amused, and so were the chiefs. In thirty more minutes Masudi was off the chair and I alone on. The chiefs loudly applauded, and Masudi, getting angry, loudly insulted, and the Arabs loudly joined him, and said I was worthy of death, an incorrigible kafir. I calmly asked the king, "Mtesa, you see this man whom you in your kindness made manakulya. What does he know about religion? You see how little he knows about his own 'Koran' and its teaching, and how I, a foreigner, have shown you these Arabs are babes. He, a drunkard of whom all Arabs are ashamed, a kafir who eats the king's meat contrary to the 'Koran,' and with whom true Moslems would not mix; who calls you his god, and therefore denies the Islamic creed: 'There is no God but Allah,' and whom every true Moslem is bound by his creed to kill—how dare he teach *you* religion, he whom Mohammed will punish, whom Jesus despises, and whom even heathenism hates?" Masudi went off in a rage, and the keepers of the gate, hearing of the affair, laughed at him. After this the king ordered his people to keep Sunday sacred, and ordered his flag to be hoisted on that day.

Many private interviews followed between O'Flaherty and the king, and the latter was invited to come regularly to the royal quarters by a private way. But the king may soon find occasion to change his mind, though the missionaries have obtained a strong influence over him. This they have proved by inducing him to countermand an order to open war

on a neighboring tribe. A force of the king's had pillaged the Basogas, and the latter had gathered in force, and almost annihilated the invaders. The king and his chiefs were in a rage about it, and a royal order had been issued to raise an army and exterminate the Basogas. Mr. O'Flaherty attended the council of war, and besought the king not to go against the Basogas. He told him that his own men had been the aggressors, and the Basogas had only rallied for their own protection, which proved them to be a brave people. The Arabs counseled the king to go on with the expedition, and said O'Flaherty ought to be driven from the court. But Mtesa, after serious thought, said, addressing Mr. O'Flaherty: "I think, Philipo, that you have not lied. You have shown me plainly that the Basogas have only done what we would have done under the same circumstances. You have made plain what I never thought of before. I have heard your pleading and granted your request." The war-flag was accordingly taken down, and the "horrid Arabs," as O'Flaherty calls them, were much chagrined. Several members of the royal family have become faithful Christians and have been baptized. The whole number of baptized persons is now 68, of whom 40 are communicants. Seven of the communicants have been organized as a sort of diaconate. In case of the expulsion of the missionaries they could preserve the Church. The first five were baptized in March, 1882. A young chief named Sebwato has accepted Christianity, and sent away all his wives but one, a severe test, as it is a badge of disgrace in Waganda society. Small-pox has made terrible ravages in Buganda, carrying off several converts, among them one of the king's daughters. The missionaries have translated a considerable body of Christian literature into the Ruganda. The following is a verse of the hymn, "Safe in the Arms of Jesus:"

"Mu mikono gya ISA:
  Emirembe bulijo,
Tetulina entisa:
  Tulina esanyu nyo.
Muwulira edobozi
  Mu Gulu, liyogera,
ISA Ye Mulokozi:
  Ye alina empera.
    Mu mikono gya ISA
      Emirembe bulijo;
    Tetulina entisa;
      Tulina esanyu nyo."

Moravian Missions.—Last year (January, 1884) the sesqui-centennial of the Greenland Mission was celebrated. There are few things more sad than the confession which is made in the annual report of the Moravian Missionary Society, issued in December, of the condition of these hardy people of the north. "If," says the report, "we cast a glance at the spiritual and social state of the Greenlanders at the time when our work among them was inaugurated, and compare it with their condition at the present time, we cannot fail to notice how little visible progress, in some respects, has been made during those one hundred and fifty years. Only

a slight change has taken place in the social condition of these inhabitants. They appear to have acquired but little additional force of character, and with regard to their spiritual life they must still be considered as too much resembling grown-up children." Yet the missionaries have found reason to rejoice over the numbers who have been constrained to confess Christ, have lived consistently, and have died happy in the faith. The force of native helpers it is somewhat difficult to maintain in efficiency, so weak are many in character. Pride, partiality, spiritual indifference, are some of their great faults. Nor is there much that is encouraging to report of the mission in Australia. The aborigines are slowly disappearing, and year by year the number of converts decreases, yet there is no thought of abandoning the mission while there are poor blacks to be reached. On the contrary, the society hopes to extend its labors to New South Wales and Queensland, where the aborigines are more numerous. The government cares for them, as does ours for the Indians, but the half-breeds, who are well able to care for themselves, are cast upon their own resources. It is pleasant to know that "in almost all cases the native Christians adorn the doctrine of Christ their Saviour by their consistent lives." And yet many of the dominant race of Australia deny that these poor blacks are human beings, with souls! For many years some of the singularly patient missionaries of this faithful missionary Church have been waiting on the frontier of Thibet for an opportunity to enter that country. They have worked on amid great discouragements at Kyelang and Poo, frequently petitioning the authorities for permission to settle in the Thibetan province of Ladak, but always getting a refusal. At last they have succeeded, and will form a station at Leh, the capital of Ladak, where they will find the nucleus of a Church, for some of the Ladakese became converts at Poo and Kyelang. Two Moravians made an exploring expedition to Alaska last summer, and reported in favor of establishing a mission in Oonalaska, and the probability is that missionaries will be sent thither at an early day.

The Foreign Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church.—The administration of the missionary concerns of the Protestant Episcopa Church is in the hands of a Board of Managers. The Board of Missions, which is the supreme authority, is simply the two houses of the triennial General Convention sitting together to consider the missionary interests of the Church. This Board of Missions chooses fifteen presbyters and fifteen laymen, who, together with the bishops and the missionary treasurers, constitute the Board of Managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. This Board forms from its own members two general committees, one for domestic, the other for foreign missions. The Board of Managers is empowered to establish and regulate such missions as are not under episcopal supervision. Appropriations for dioceses or missionary jurisdictions having bishops are made in bulk, and the bishops regulate the number of stations, and appoint the missionaries and fix their stipends with the approval of the Board of Managers. The receipts for foreign

missions last year were nearly $135,000, of which amount no more than $15,838 was received from legacies—the smallest sum from this source since 1877. The total of receipts also shows a very large decrease. The income for domestic missions was $208,718, which is an increase over the previous year of about $28,000, but a decrease from the returns of 1881 and 1882. The missions at home embrace the Indian, Chinese, and colored populations as well as the white people. Among the last there are 12 bishops, 338 clergymen, and 8 women helpers; among the colored people, 18 white and 23 colored clergymen, and 32 agents and teachers; among the Indians, one bishop, 14 white and 13 Indian clergymen, and 32 agents and teachers; among the Chinese, one Chinese clergyman. The report of the Foreign Committee speaks of changes in the missionary episcopate and in the missionary force as constituting two of the most notable features of the year, the third being the attention given to purely evangelistic work, and the increase of communicants in Japan. The committee say the work has been more productive than usual; but it is to be remembered that the foreign missions of this Church have not been successful in the same degree as those of other Churches. There are three missions—those of Africa, China, and Japan; and besides these the Haytian Church, to which help is given, and the Church of Jesus in Mexico, for which funds are raised by the Mexican League. These missions report a total of 896 communicants, of whom 46 are European or American. The Greek mission is simply an educational work. The African mission is nearly half a century old. It has a total of 425 communicants. Eighty-six missionaries from the United States have labored in it, of whom twenty-eight died in the field, and it has had, including the present incumbent, four bishops. It occupies what was regarded as the most promising field in Africa a generation ago—Liberia. Our own Church has had but little encouragement to make large appropriations in late years to our Liberian mission, yet our Episcopal friends are not discouraged. A new bishop, a product of the mission, has been chosen, and the committee say the work was never more promising. The mission is divided into three districts, the Cape Palmas, which gives name to the diocese, Sinoe and Bassa, and Monrovia and Cape Mount. Of the 425 communicants, 247 are classed as Liberian, 177 as native, and one as American. Three stations in the Cape Palmas District, two of which are purely native, report 221 communicants, of whom more than half are Greboes. The preachers say that the people evince much more interest than formerly in religious services, and it is believed 10,000 persons are reached by the ministrations in the district. Work has been going on at Cape Mount since 1878, and a system of schools exists throughout the mission. The mission in China dates from 1835, when the Rev. Henry Lockwood, who died last year, and the Rev. F. R. Hanson, who died some years ago, were sent out. Nine years passed before the first convert was secured—Kong Chai Wong, who was the first native deacon and presbyter of the Church. Since his ordination sixteen others have entered the priesthood, and eleven are preparing for Holy Orders. Bishop

Schereschewsky has resigned, and the Rev. W. J. Boone, a missionary, has been elected to succeed him. A feature of the mission is its educational work, St. John's College and St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai, being the chief institutions. Much of the evangelistic work is done by the native clergy, who appear to be very efficient. The report on Japan gives little of general interest beyond statistical items. The Bishop of Yedo's report, which is printed as an appendix, mentions the formation of a Japanese missionary society as one of the features of the year. The Mexican mission work, of which Bishop Riley was the head, and of which he gave glowing reports, has shrunk remarkably since the making up of his annual returns passed into other hands. We used to hear about the sixty or more congregations in the Valley of Mexico and the great Cathedral in the City of Mexico. The report of the Mexican League this year modestly speaks of two congregations in the city, one of two hundred in the Cathedral, and "congregations in the Valley of Mexico," and at three other places, "besides scattered groups of converts in other districts." "These are ministered to by eleven ordained clergymen and many lay readers." The dream of a great reformed Mexican Church, to be formed of Catholics anxious to break away from the Church of Rome, has been discovered to be very unsubstantial.

Mission Work in Syria.—The history of the Syrian mission of the American Board is well known. It was one of the earliest undertakings of that pioneer society. Fisk and Parsons are names associated with the beginnings of this mission. They were appointed in 1818, but it was not until 1821 that Mr. Parsons reached the field, which was Jerusalem and environs. The Holy City proved to be a poor missionary center, and was ere long abandoned, but not before Beirût had been chosen as a more promising station. Bird and Goodell were the founders of this enterprise, which is now sixty-one years old, and which has cost much in labor, patience, and treasure. The press and the school have been among its chief agencies in reaching the people, or rather the nominal Christians, for the Moslems have scarcely been touched until quite recently. In 1870, when the co-operation of the New School Presbyterians with the American Board ceased by reason of the great Presbyterian reunion, the Board transferred the Syrian mission to the Board of the reunited Church. In recent years the promise of the mission has greatly improved, and the past year has been perhaps its best. Ten years ago the number of communicants was 437; now it is about 1,200. The addition last year was 120. When it is understood that members are only received after the most careful examination, and after considerable delay, and that persecution and suffering are still known to those who accept the Gospel, the increase of the past year appears very encouraging. The churches composing the mission are scattered, attendants at a convention in Beirût some time ago coming from fifty-three towns and cities. They are being trained, we are told, more and more to self-support, and to efforts to spread the Gospel. They have been formed into a presbytery, and are

learning how to govern themselves. In 1883 twenty-two elders were ordained. In the schools are 6,000 pupils, and the press has turned out an enormous amount of Christian literature in Arabic. On the 17th of September the Presbytery held its second meeting at Hasbeiya, at the foot of Mount Hermon. Kos Selin, a native pastor, preached the sermon. Reports were listened to from Tyre, Sidon, and other places of scriptural fame. We copy some of the paragraphs in Dr. Eddy's account of the meeting:

The report from Alma told of the great trials of the community from the hostility of the Maronites of their village, and from the incursions of the neighboring Bedouin, robbing them of their cattle, and of their poverty and suffering in consequence. The report from Tyre told of the obstacles to the Gospel in that city, the threats against Protestants, the fines unjustly extorted, the withdrawal of custom from the shops of some and the cutting off of employment from others. A fisherman who had gone to Beirût and had brought back with him a Bible, which had been the means of his enlightenment, was particularly a sufferer, as he knew no other means of livelihood except the one trade from which he was thrust out. The Mejdeluna report, stating the amounts contributed by the Church members for the Gospel, astonished all: $123 for Church work, and about $32 besides for the belfry. This was the banner church for liberality in proportion to its size, as it was foremost in aggressive work in the surrounding villages. The other sects had complained of this zeal in preaching Christ as "persecution of them by the Protestants." Sidon Church had also wonderfully increased its contributions during the year. The Mejded report of $45 pledged for the support of the preacher the coming year gave it the second place among those giving out of their deep poverty unto the Lord. Part of the time was also spent in listening to a well-prepared paper by one of the delegates on the duties of elders, followed by an address by the Moderator, Rev. W. K. Eddy, on Church discipline. An interesting feature of the exercises was the report of the school for Bedouin boys, held in Jedaida. This is its second year. It is peculiarly the child of the native churches in Syria, and is independent of foreign aid. Seven boys from various tribes of desert Arabs have been clothed, fed, and taught during the year. Only one of them before his coming had heard of God. The contributions to this school amounted to $192 64.

Exploration of New Guinea.—If Australia be considered a continent, New Guinea is the largest island in the world. It belongs to the Melanesian group, which also includes New Caledonia, New Britain, and New Ireland. The people are unmistakably of the Negro race, with woolly heads and jet black skin and flat features. Those of New Guinea embrace several varieties, among which the bush Negroes are considered the real Papuans or aborigines, and are being exterminated in some localities by the dominant tribes. The natives of New Guinea are probably the worst savages in the Pacific Ocean. They are cannibals, and many an unfortunate mariner has been devoured by them. New Guinea lies just north of Australia, separated only at the nearest point by Torres Straits, and the Queensland government has long been desirous of annexing at least a portion of the island. The Colonial Office in London has refused to give its consent until recently partly on the ground of fear that the Queenslanders would oppress and make virtual slaves of the islanders. The Australians, like the Boers in South Africa, have not the highest regard for subject races. The British government has, however, at last consented to annexation, and the British

flag flies over a part of the great and largely unknown island. This act has an interest, not alone for the political and commercial, but also for the missionary, world. If New Guinea is ever civilized, as it undoubtedly will be, missionary influence will be the first and greatest force in accomplishing the great undertaking. The London Missionary Society has been trying to educate and evangelize the New Guinea people for more than twelve years; but it is only recently that stations have been established in New Guinea itself. A church and a training institution on Murray Island, in the Straits, may be regarded as the beginning and center of the mission. There are also stations on other small islands from which the work has spread to New Guinea. It is worthy of note that the teachers by whose help the missionaries have already accomplished so much are South Sea natives, who gladly gave themselves for the New Guinea savages. Many of them have laid down their lives in this cause. The missionaries have discovered and explored Fly River, which is a mighty stream over ten miles wide at its mouth, flowing in a southerly course how many hundreds of miles nobody knows. On this river several stations have been established, and the people show the same facility in dropping their savage customs, in learning to read and write, and in turning from heathenism to Christianity that the South Sea Islanders have exhibited. Large classes of them are being prepared as teachers in the training institutions on Murray Island and at Port Moresby, and some are already at work on Fly River. There are in all twenty-nine teachers at work under the direction of Messrs. Lawes and Chalmers, with twelve hundred children under instruction. New Guinea is very rich in vegetable productions. It is said that the natives sell bundles of sago palm weighing sixty pounds for four sticks of tobacco. The Rev. S. Macfarlane, who recently made a trip up Fly River, describes a house he saw in one of the villages which was five hundred and twelve feet long by thirty wide. Many of the people wear no clothing.

THE MAGAZINES.

One of the most noteworthy of recent magazine articles is that by the Rev. Washington Gladden in the January "Century" on "Christianity and Popular Amusements." With the principles laid down few will find fault. Mr. Gladden believes that the following are the true principles by which family, church, and individual action ought to be guided, namely: 1. Amusement is not an end, but a means: when it begins to be the principal thing for which one lives, or when in pursuing it the mental powers are enfeebled and the bodily health impaired, it falls under just condemnation. 2. Amusements which consume the hours which ought to be devoted to sleep are therefore censurable. 3. Amusements which call us away from work, which we are bound to do, are pernicious, just to the

extent to which they make us unfaithful or neglectful. 4. Amusements which rouse or stimulate morbid appetites or unlawful passions, or that cause us to be restless or discontented, are always to be avoided. 5. Any amusements which have a tendency to weaken our respect for the great interests of character, or to loosen our hold on the great verities of the spiritual realm, are so far forth a damage to us. The writer believes that the best the pulpit can do is to enforce such maxims as these. In his view the Church must use reason rather than authority. But the Church, in his thought, has something more to do than to regulate and discriminate between the amusements offered. She has gone as far as she ought in providing within her own doors amusements for her people. Her true work is to stir up those who have some regard for the true and the pure in these matters to provide, as a part of the practical benevolence of the Christian life, amusements which can elevate the taste and morals of the masses, and particularly of the working people. The author holds, that just as the Church disregards the law of supply and demand in the missionary and educational enterprises, so she ought to take the lead in reforming amusements by her influence over those who, under Christian inspiration, are seeking outlets for means and energy.

An example of what the writer deems effective and well-guarded work in this direction is to be found in the city of Cleveland, Ohio. There an institution calling itself an "Educational Bureau" has existed for three seasons, and has achieved great success in doing the work outlined by Mr. Gladden. It pays its own way and gathers great audiences, and entertains them with scientific, semi-political, musical, and literary matters. These gatherings are held in a hall which is open on Sunday for religious services. The statement is made that the attendance at the religious services has increased, and from the classes which attend the entertainments in large numbers. While we commend the article as deserving study, there are some things we should much like to know before approving it. What is the effect of this movement on the churches? What do the pastors think of it? What evidence is there to show that the institution really does more than appeal to the same classes which support the churches? Every one knows that the Young Men's Christian Associations of the country absorb the activities of the Church almost as much as they add to the Church's strength. Does this movement, as friendly to the working classes, draw on the Church, and create prejudice against it? We see no evidence that beyond the requirements of secular morality the platform of this "Bureau" has any Christian quality. No one who has studied this question of popular amusements can doubt that that which gives many of them their hold on the public is the element of impurity, which, as Mr. Gladden admits, is to be found in the majority of the popular attractions. The evil reputation of some public performers is part, and a large part, of their stock in trade. We have not the slightest faith that any pure entertainment under Church auspices can long compete with those in which the attractions of the persons and plays are those of the flesh. The high seasoning of sin is that which sin likes. We believe that the Church can make no compro-

mise with the world on the subject of its chosen pleasures. The Church must insist that the life of Christian purity finds its pleasures and its recreations outside that circle which is the invention of a spirit wholly antagonistic to Christianity. Bunyan may have been fanatical when he felt that the "tipcat" of his boyhood was his darling sin; but "tipcat," as Bunyan played it, may have been, after all, a spiritual danger as great as he thought it to be. The experience of a life-time confirms the old position of the Church, that a devout soul has in its love for Christ, and in the growths and activities inspired by that love, the liberties and bounds of its whole nature.

Our readers will find in the same number a masterly discussion of the "Freedman's Case in Equity." The novelist George W. Cable is the author, who knows the South and the Negro as only a southerner can know them. It is a marvel that it has taken only twenty years from the war to produce an utterance like this from a southern man. What northern man could write such words as these, concerning the feeling and practices of the South toward the colored man?

> It proffers to the freedman a certain security for life and property, and then holds the respect of the community, that dearest of earthly boons, beyond his attainment. It gives him a certain guarantee against thieves and robbers, and then holds him under the unearned contumely of the mass of good men and women. It acknowledges in constitutions and statutes his title to an American's freedom and aspirations, and then in daily practice heaps upon him in every public place the most odious distinctions, without giving ear to the humblest plea concerning mental and moral character. It spurns his ambition, tramples upon his languishing self-respect, and indignantly refuses to let him buy with money or earn by any excellence of inner life and outward behavior the most momentary immunity from these public indignities, even for his wife and daughters. . . . This is simply the avowed state of affairs, and the defended state of affairs peeled of its exteriors.

Whatever may be the reader's political views, he cannot afford to allow this striking and indignant article to go unread.

We also commend the paper on Church Architecture for the beauty of its engravings and the excellent description of several of the most attractive of recent churches.

In the January Harper's will be found one of the best of recent historical studies. Wiclif (that is the fashion now to spell the name) is presented as one to whom Christianity owes a debt as yet scantily paid in the honors rendered to his memory. This does not prevent Mr. Ward from seeing that the character of the great translator had its shadows. While his work was for the people, there was a certain hardness in his mental constitution which prevented him from being a practical leader of the people. He was not without intellectual pride, and regarded the assent of the masses to a doctrine as affording a presumption of its foolishness. He was in no sense a flatterer of the masses, and yet his work was for them. To them his life appealed. This paper is admirable in its candor, and the illustrations, partly reproductions of old prints, are of the highest order. Artistically, the chief paper in this number is by Seymour Haden, who, though an amateur, has put himself at the head of English etchers. He

writes of Mezzotint as a painter's art, and shows what can be done in this long-neglected method by many charming illustrations of the Isle of Purbeck. The engravers have reproduced his work with wonderful accuracy, and the illustrations show a mastery of methods which puts our American magazines a step farther in advance.

H. M. Newhall succeeds in giving high interest to the making of a pair of shoes, by following the process from the rawhide to its dainty resurrection as a lady's shoe. The artists contrive to throw a pretty tint on this prosaic occupation, and the paper has merits of the highest order. John Fiske, who is one of the ablest of our scientific political students, does some valuable work in his paper on "The Town Meeting." First sketching the institution as it was developed in New England, he follows back its history to early Aryan times, and shows how the appearance of self-government in England is connected with that "boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for their inheritance." He looks upon the victory of Wolfe as the greatest turning-point discernible in modern history.

The reprint of Goldsmith's comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer," is admirably illustrated, but it would appear that Methodism has achieved sufficient place in the world to warrant the editor in omitting the scurrilous song with which the present section of the play opens. The firm reprinting this play ought not to forget that the founders of their great house held a different opinion of Methodist preachers from that which finds expression in this ribald and indecent song.

> "When Methodist preachers come down
> A-preaching that drinking is sinful,
> I'll wager the rascals a crown
> They always preach best with a skinful.
> But when you come down with your pence,
> For a slice of their scurvy religion,
> I'll leave it to all men of sense
> But you, my good friend, are the pigeon."

Lippincott's Magazine has so much merit that it deserves more notice from the press than it receives. It does not successfully compete with the New York magazines in the matter of illustrations, but no recent number has been without matter of permanent value and interest. The January number has only a frontispiece, and that is very poorly drawn, but in the papers on "Rome and the Campagna," on the "Bismarcks," and on the "Inventor of the Ayrshire Life Car," are facts of much worth.

The January number of the "Expositor" (English) is noteworthy for a remarkably fine exposition of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, by the Rev. Marcus Dodds. Of equal merit is a first paper by Henry Drummond, the author of "Natural Law in the Supernatural World," on "The Contributions of Science to Christianity." This series is sure to be of permanent value to ministers, as Prof. Drummond is probably the best furnished man in England for the work to which he here addresses himself.

The subject of ministerial education is still a live one, as witness the symposium in the "Homiletic Monthly" for January. Dr. Curry, the editor of this review, opens the discussion, and concludes that the methods even of our own theological seminaries are not altogether satisfactory. This is to be followed by papers from other hands, and the series is sure to attract great attention.

Some time ago a good brother was in our hearing exalted to rapturous praises by a young minister's quotation from Shakespeare. The vigorous and attractive article in the "Homiletic Monthly," by Prof. J. O. Murray, D.D., of Princeton, reminds us of this fact. The Professor advocates the use of Shakespearean quotation and illustration in the pulpit, and gives instances of truth, condensed and weighty, which the great dramatist has furnished to the religious teacher. Nevertheless it is best to be sparing in drawing on dramatic poetry in the pulpit. We fear that our good brother would not have shouted "Glory to God," if he had known that the young preacher was quoting from the dramatic literature of which, all his life, he had been in what he esteemed a healthy ignorance. Some knotty practical and pastoral questions will grow up about that minister who betrays as much familiarity with the literature of the stage as of the Church. His young people will ask him some puzzling questions as to the difference between listening to Shakespeare from the pulpit and from the stage. The questions may not be wholly intelligent, but they cannot be answered without some deep and painful thought.

In the line of illustration and historical interest the recent magazines have had nothing more beautiful and interesting than the account in "Cassell's Magazine of Art" of Hatfield House. This home of the Cecils is hardly surpassed in architectural and historical interest by any of the great family residences of England. Our readers will find these papers, which began in the December number, fascinating both in text and illustration. Some excellent sketches of the pictures in the exhibition of the American Art Association are given as a supplement to the January number.

Richard Grant White, though not always a just writer, is always interesting. A paper from his pen in the January Atlantic on "The 'H' Malady in England" is one of his best. He follows this English peculiarity back as far as English history will permit, and shows that it is by no means a recent matter. He also makes visible the fact that this habit of dropping and inserting the aspirate in the wrong places is partly a matter of social position and partly of locality. Trifling as the subject appears at first sight, in Mr. White's hands it attains the dignity of a linguistic study. In the same number H. E. Scudder has a scholarly picture of "Childhood in Greek and Roman Literature." With the exception of some characteristic extracts on winter from the journal of Henry D. Thoreau and some delightful bits from Dr. Holmes in his "New Portfolio," the other papers are of temporary or imaginative interest.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, the Christ, as Covenanted in the Old Testament, and Presented in the New Testament. By Rev. GEO. N. H. PETERS, A.M. Three vols., 8vo, pp. 701, 730, 694. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The last words concerning "the last things" most certainly had not been uttered before the coming of this great work. *Great* it certainly is in more than a single sense; in extent, two thousand one hundred and seventy-five large and well filled-up pages, two hundred and six propositions clearly stated and exhaustively elaborated, and the entire field of eschatological literature brought under contribution. The author, it would seem, never became impatient, never made haste, and never asked himself whether or not his readers would be equally patient and painstaking. Thirty years of active labor, we are told, were given to the work—a period that pretty well covers the whole term of an active life-time. Of the wisdom of so employing one's little space of time, opinions will be largely affected by the estimate of the value of the result; and of that who will judge, if indeed the work must be read through in order that its worth may be ascertained? Should some one, laying aside all other studies, give himself wholly to this one work, reading one hundred pages per week—which with the proper verification of references would make a pretty full task—and allowing for only slight interruptions, he might compass the whole in about six months. It may be that such a one will be found, but not many, it may be hoped.

The view of "the kingdom" here given and defended is the pre-millenarian, the literal, personal reign of Christ in the world as an outward political potentate, and the conqueror of all nations, with attendant or sequent events and conditions of climatic and cosmic re-adjustments, the ingathering of the Jews, the overthrow of Antichrist, the wars of Gog and Magog, and the hopeless and irretrievable casting down of the devil and his angels, and with them all the "non-elect" of mankind. The scheme is grand in its proportions, and it is thoroughly wrought out, with abundant citations of Scripture, which, as they are interpreted by the author and his whole school, are made to sustain the positions as they are stated and fixed in the successive "propositions;" and if his rules of interpretation are allowed, it might be difficult to refute his arguments or gainsay his conclusions. If these are not to be accepted, the issue must be joined at the threshold by a sweeping denial of the prevalent literalistic methods of interpretation; and that would call for not inconsiderable modifications of many traditional opinions and modes of thinking. That such modifications will be made, and under their direction the whole eschatology of the Church of the past be reconstructed, and set in a clearer light than in all former times, is not the least probable of the promises of the near future. The author is certainly correct in one of his earlier "propositions,"

"that the most vague, indefinite notions concerning it [the 'kingdom'] exist in the minds of many;" but it is not so evident that his is the true method for remedying the evil. The Church and the world of Christendom have been hearing of the Second Advent, the Millennium, the Restoration of the Jews, and other great affairs—indeed, sacred poetry, extending from "Dies Iræ" to "Advent Hymns," is freighted with them—as certainly coming events of the reign of Christ; but only by the baldest literalism of interpretation can any of them be established from the Scriptures. The whole subject is still undetermined, with, if we mistake not, a decided trend of opinion away from the literalistic methods of interpretation.

A Religious Encyclopædia; or, Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology. Based on the Real-Encyklopädie of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Associate Editors, Rev. SAMUEL M. JACKSON, M.A., and Rev. D. S. SCHAFF. Three vols. Imperial 8vo, pp. 2631. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Biblical and Theological Dictionaries are recognized as indispensable parts of the apparatus for the study of the subject to which they relate, and in scarcely any other department of learning, sacred or secular, have there been greater improvements than among works of this class. On the purely biblical side Calmet's great work, which dates from the early part of the eighteenth century, embodied and so rendered accessible most of the learning at that time known, and this stood unrivaled down to the times of men now living. Kitto's Biblical Cyclopedia and Smith's Biblical Dictionary belong to our own age, and their great value has been universally recognized. M'Clintock and Strong's Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia is confessed by the ablest judges to be "the most complete religious cyclopedia in the English language," constituting in fact, a thesaurus, a condensed library of its complex subject-matter. But its voluminousness—ten great volumes—is objectionable to many, not only on account of its cost, but also its fullness of discussions and details.

In Germany, the land of cyclopedias, the first place is readily conceded to Herzog's *Real-Encyklopædie*, but that, too, is too large for popular use, and therefore Dr. Schaff and his associates have done wisely in condensing it, for an American edition, to scarcely a third of the original size; and so reduced it is now given to the public, in the three noble volumes named at the head of this article. The work is not simply a condensed translation of the German original, for large portions are entirely new matter, prepared by some of the best scholars of the times, and the style of the translations, as well as of the original articles, is pure and idiomatic English. Its biblical status is a happy combination of conservatism and enlightened progressiveness; its theology is the embodiment of the Catholic faith, agreeable to the *consensus* of Protestantism, liberal without license, and evangelical without fanaticism. It is just the hand-book that the student of the Bible and of Theology and Ecclesiastical History needs to have within easy reach.

We may also congratulate any who may use the work in view of the style in which it appears, in larger letters than are commonly used for such works, and with clear and firm white paper, so presenting a readily legible page. Its publication makes a valuable addition to the available helps for the acquisition of biblical and theological learning, and therefore it is entitled to a place, not only in the libraries of ministers, but also in those of Bible-class and Sunday-school teachers, and of all who would understand the great truths of religion.

The Faith of Catholics: Confirmed by Scripture and Attested by the Fathers of the First Five Centuries of the Church. With an Introduction by the Right Reverend Monsignor CAPEL, D.D. In Three Volumes. Pp. 468, 505, 491. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustel & Co.

With consummate wisdom, which nobody can blame, the rulers of the Roman Church are presenting its cause with its many aspects in the most plausible setting, and yet without at all abating any of its pretensions. They employ able and accomplished writers, polemics that know how to conceal the controversial designs of what they write, while every "quoin of 'vantage" is occupied, every weak point concealed or specially fortified, the undue concessions of their adversaries skillfully used, and the incidental infelicities of Protestantism made the most of.

The work whose title we give very fully answers to all that is here designated. It is a comprehensive system of theology, written with decided skill, well arranged, thoroughly elaborated in its details, and supported by ample authorities, partly scriptural, according to the Church's interpretation, but chiefly from the Fathers and the decrees of Councils, and the rescripts of the Popes. Very much that is taught in these volumes is of the highest excellence as simple and direct statements of Christian doctrine, but, according to the first principles of Protestantism, the truth so stated is held "in unrighteousness." Both Catholics and Protestants accept the Bible as the standard of Christian doctrine; but while the latter hold to the use of the word by every man, and the right and duty of private judgment as to its meaning, the former claims for the Church—that is, for the Pope for the time being—the sole and exclusive right to determine what is the sense of the Scriptures on any subject. Setting out with that rule of faith and method of proof, it is the easiest thing possible to prove whatever may be desired. Protestant ecclesiastics have been reluctant to accept and carry out their own fundamental rules on this subject, and especially to submit the Bible to the free handling of criticism, though certainly there is no middle ground between ecclesiastical authority and that of rational criticism. It would seem that not a few Protestant divines do not feel quite sure that it would be safe to submit the evidences of divine truth to an unofficial and not ecclesiastically limited inquiry and determination. But even that unworthy suspicion is rapidly giving way. The volumes before us are decidedly well made, and outwardly they would grace any minister's library; and their careful study would, no doubt, in many cases, prove both interesting and profitable.

Pastoral Theology. By JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D., late Professor of Pastoral Theology in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 584. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Hoppin earned for himself a valuable reputation, and made the whole Church his debtor by his "Homiletics," published a few years ago. He at the same time secured the right to be heard on all kindred subjects; and accordingly the volume whose title is given above comes to hand attended with peculiar advantages. By these it will be sure to command a reading, after which it will need no further commendation than will be afforded by its own intrinsic merits. "Pastoral Theology" is the accepted, though rather awkward and improper, title by which is designated all the needful practical rules and instructions respecting the requisite personal qualifications for the office and work of the Christian ministry, and also the best methods for the performance of its duties. The author's notions of this subject appear to have been clearly apprehended, and he has successfully embodied his conceptions in his book.

The work is distributed into six "parts," or general divisions: I. The Pastoral Office. II. The Pastor as a Man. III. The Pastor in his Relations to Society. IV. The Pastor in his Relations to Public Worship. V. The Pastor in his Care of Souls. VI. The Pastor in his Relations to the Church. Under one or other of these heads almost every phase of discussion relative to the Christian ministry is brought forward and considered with great force and clearness, and a remarkable wealth of illustration, and also with a warmth of expression that indicates on the part of the writer something more than a merely professional interest in his subject. His ideal of the ministerial vocation removes it entirely from the category of simply the learned secular professions, and contemplates it as a divine ordinance of a strictly unworldly character and design; and the same thought enters into and gives expression to the statements respecting the pastor's personal qualifications for his work. The author's utterances on the "call to the ministry," making a complete section of twenty pages, are especially excellent, covering completely the prescriptive Methodist ground, and setting forth doctrines that have been esteemed as exclusive peculiarities of our own denomination. The section on the personal religious life of the pastor is also one of great religious value. Ministers of any time of life, and other Christians also, might read and ponder it to their advantage.

Books of this class are usually thought of as designed almost exclusively for young ministers or candidates in preparation, and to all such we can heartily recommend this one; but those of middle or post-meridian age who may read it, will find their conceptions of their calling widened and deepened by the study, and also their hearts warmed and impelled to a more intense zeal by the devotion that animates its pages. It is in every respect an admirable production, and a valuable addition to current religious literature. We know of no work better adapted, in respect to both its matter and its methods, for use as a text-book in theological seminaries, or for the minister's study. The publishers have brought it out in a style corresponding to its character.

The Sabbath for Man. A Study of the Origin, Obligation, History, Advantages, and Present State of Sabbath Observance, with Special Reference to the Rights of Working-men. Based on Scripture, Literature, and Especially on a Symposium of Correspondence with Persons of all Nations and Denominations. By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, A.M., Author "Successful Men of To-day," etc. 12mo, pp. 638. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The Sabbath is an integral element of Christianity, as a living and working social force, and it is needful that its claims should be kept in mind and made effective in the convictions of Christians. The Christian Sabbath is, no doubt, identical with that of the Old Testament, but the changed conditions of the Church from that of the Israelites very largely modify its observance, and render inapplicable many of its prescribed duties, but without at all removing any of its sacred sanctions. With this conception of his subject, the author of the volume whose title is given above has here brought together the statements and supports of the Sabbath, as usually held and taught by English-speaking Protestants, so making his book a real and somewhat comprehensive "Cyclopedia of the Sabbath."

The conflict to which the Church in this land is called involves, as one of its chief parts, the defense and maintenance of the day of rest, as a *holy* day, of divine appointment. The abolition of the Sabbath is among the active designs of the enemies of religion and good morals, the success of which purpose would most assuredly be followed by the practical overthrow of vital and spiritual religion. It is well, then, that the notes of warning should be sounded, and the danger properly recognized. The facts and statistics, and the opinions of those best competent to speak on such a subject, that are here given are just what are needed by the public, and there can be no doubt that this book will prove valuable in proportion as it shall be thoughtfully considered.

Rifted Clouds; or, The Life-Story of Bella Cooke. A Record of Loving-Kindness and Tender Mercies. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Palmer & Hughes.

Some lives are made illustrious by great achievements, and some by sufferings and endurance; and these, though usually the less conspicuous, evince the higher virtue, and bring forth the most excellent results. The subject of this volume, though known only within a limited circle of personal friends, presents a beautiful example of the blessedness of sanctified afflictions, and of the power of divine grace to change pain and poverty into instruments of spiritual enrichment. The "dedication" indicates both the form and the spirit, as well as the especial purpose of the publication, "written in prayer and pain" for the benefit of children and grandchildren, "as a memento of the love that never ceased to cherish them." Its benediction, however valuable to them especially, will also extend to all who may read these things in the spirit in which they are written.

Obscure Characters and Minor Lights of Scripture. By FREDERIC HASTING. Editor of the "Homiletic Magazine," and Author of "Sunday about the World," etc. Pp. 284. Funk & Wagnalls.

There is a fascination in obscurity, and accordingly those parts of Scripture, names, facts, or doctrines, of which very little is written in the

book, are often most written about in other books. Here are twenty-eight names of as many persons, the whole history of each of whom is confined to a single incident or remark, and around these the author gathers a cluster of moral and religious reflection, each case illustrating some Christian grace or virtue. Many of these were issued in the "Homiletic Magazine." They are well written, suggestive, and abounding in wholesome lessons.

Meditations on Life, Death, and Eternity. By JOHANN HEINRICH DANIEL ZSCHOKKE. Translated from the German by FREDERICA ROWAN. Compiled by Rev. L. R. DUNN, D.D., Author of "Garden of Spices," etc. 2 vols, 18mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The original work, of which these neat volumes are both a translation and a condensation, enjoys a high reputation in the Fatherland among the evangelicals, and especially so if also crossed with a stripe of mysticism. But as that is not largely developed among American Christians, there need be no apprehension on account of that peculiarity of the original work, especially after Dr. Dunn's judicious revisals and selections. As here given, these volumes are worthy of a place in every household, library, or on the parlor table, or, best of all, in the private chamber, as helps to devotional meditation.

Hand-Book of Bible Biography. By Rev. C. R. BARNES, A.B. 12mo, pp. 546. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A dictionary of Bible names, brief but comprehensive sketches of all persons named in both the Testaments, making a convenient manual for all Bible students, and especially adapted for the use of Sunday-school teachers; a companion volume to Dr. Whitney's Bible Geography.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

The Elements of Moral Science. Theoretical and Practical. By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 12mo, pp. 574. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

A college text-book is not the form in which one expects to meet with original matters in the departments discussed, and accordingly, in this work, its form and methods of presenting its themes and subjects are those that call for our attention; and yet in making even such a compilation and digest, an original thinker would not fail to impart a degree of novelty and freshness to the matters brought into consideration. This Dr. Porter has certainly done, and with his handling of them the commonplaces of moral science appear with much of the attractiveness of original thinkings. Theoretically, there is very little that is new in this book, but its arrangement, its modes of presentation, and its conclusions are all of a kind to awaken attention and to provoke thoughtful inquiry. In respect to philosophical methods, no two real thinkers may be expected to agree in all minor details, and yet the principal works on this subject are almost entirely the same, in all their essential particulars. Both as a

theoretical review of the subject, and as a practical embodiment for rules of right living, in the various relations of life, the work is worthy of much praise, and as a manual prepared for practical use by an experienced instructor, whose familiarity with the works of his predecessor in the same field afforded him the best advantages for his task, much may be reasonably expected of it ; and these expectations will be responded to, in those who may use this volume. Nearly every teacher in the department of learning here presented will wish to present his own views in his own way, usually by lectures, but even in such cases a text-book is needful; and for that use, as well as for private reading and study, this manual of President Porter is probably as good as any other.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Egypt and Babylon. From Sacred and Profane Sources. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Rawlinsons, Sir Henry and George, are brothers in learning and authorship, as well as by birth, and their contributions to biblical learning by their historical researches are among the most valuable additions that have been made, in our times, to the apparatus for the illustration of the Old Testament. The book named above, by the younger brother, though itself learned, is not out of the reach of any ordinarily intelligent reader of the Bible. It designs to trace out and set in order the points of contact between Israel and the Jewish nation, first with Babylon, and next with Egypt, and by that method to place many things in the historical books and the prophets in a clear light. It is an admirable work for the purpose intended, and it will greatly facilitate the intelligent study of sacred history. Its moderate price ($1 50) makes it easy to be obtained, and its condensed form, easy to be mastered.

Universalism in America. A History. By RICHARD EDDY, D.D., President of the Universalist Historical Society, etc. Vol. I, A.D. 1636–1800. 12mo, pp. 554. Boston: Universalist Publishing House.

This volume is the first of the two that will constitute the completed work. It seems to be the result of a leisurely study of its subject by a competent student and writer, whose preconceptions of the subject in hand caused him to see them in a parallax, so that while the views that he presents are probably true as to his own conceptions, they may be nevertheless very far from being truthful. He thinks he finds the substance of Universalism in the literature of the Church all along its course from the earliest times, and coming to our own age and country he detects its presence in a considerable number of our chief denominations, among which he names the Mystics, Dunkers, Moravians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists. The writer next passes to the history and career of John Murray, the father of organic Universalism in America. He was an Englishman, had been a

Wesleyan, but was expelled from the "society" for heresy, and coming to this country (about 1770), he became, apparently without seeking it, the originator of a sect. The history thenceforward becomes the record of the rise and progress of that sect in the United States, in which the names of Winchester, Ballou, Dr. Mitchell (of New York), and Dr. Priestly are prominent figures. The incongruous elements of the body, and because it was led by persons each one of whom was a body of divinity to himself, until it at length settled down into a species of rationalistic Unitarianism, are sketched with a good degree of ability, and evidently purposed fairness. The student of the theological aberrations of the age, as also of the minor religious bodies of the country, will find in this volume—and the same may be anticipated for the next—just what he wants, and in a generally unobjectionable shape.

Memoirs of Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians in North America. Based on the Life of Brainerd Prepared by JONATHAN EDWARDS, D.D., and afterward revised and enlarged by SERENO E. DWIGHT, D.D. Edited by J. M. SHERWOOD, Author of "The History of the Cross." With an Introduction on the Life and Character of David Brainerd, by the Editor. Also, an Essay on God's Hand in Missions, by ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

There are names that the Christian world will not let die, and among these that of David Brainerd holds no secondary place. This volume is a tribute to his memory, as viewed by a number of highly competent writers. The book will prove valuable to all who may read it in the spirit in which it is written, both as a stimulus to Christian work, and an incentive to personal consecration.

A History of the Four Georges. By JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P. In four volumes. Vol. I. Pp. 321. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. M'Carthy is a genuine Hibernian; a good story-teller, and a clear, easy, and rapid writer. The royal Brunswickers are treated rather freely, but less truculently than by some others, who have made them the subjects of their satires. The historical matter is fairly well presented, and the whole is decidedly readable.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Hymn Studies. An Illustrated and Annotated Edition of the Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. CHARLES S. NUTTER. 8vo, pp. 475. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The author of this volume, an itinerant Methodist minister of the New Hampshire Conference, to whom, as to every Methodist, the Hymn-Book has probably proved, next after the Bible, his best book of devotion and spiritual instruction—perhaps also his most effective teacher in theology—having become interested in the history and literature of his silent companion, has busied himself in searching out its hid treasures. The results of his researches are embodied in this book, which abundantly

justifies all his labors and painstakings. The matter here given consists of, first, the Methodist Hymnal complete, all the hymns in full, and in their proper order, so adapting it to all the purposes of a hymn book, for the home or church services. And to each hymn is appended, in the form of foot-notes, (1) some account of its origin, with a brief account of its author and of the medium through which it was first given to the public; (2) the original title, if any, or text of Scripture referred to or paraphrased by it; and (3) the changes and emendations which it has undergone, with the omitted parts of the original hymn or poem from which it has been taken or made. These notes are the original matter of the work, and they constitute its chief value, for, though very brief, they convey a great amount of valuable information brought together by immense labor, and selected with rare judgment. Respecting this, the chief feature of his work, the author tells us in his brief and modest preface : "Information has been chiefly derived from original sources by referring to the published works of the authors, many of which are rare and difficult to find, and by correspondence with writers who are still living." The character of the work that had to be done indicates the newness of this department of literary research, for though there is no lack of books devoted to hymnology, the subject is still in a crude and chaotic state, in respect to both its general literature and its details and illustrative facts, but this work will go a long way toward remedying these evils.

Methodist hymnody, though not wholly distinct from that of all English-speaking Protestantism, is still somewhat differentiated by both its substance and its history. Methodism, in its larger sense, antedates the active ministry of the Wesleys both as a form of religious experience and a literature; and of the latter its hymns was the principal ingredient. But when the Wesleys became its heralds, their earnest Christian songs proved to be a scarcely less effective evangelistic agency than their burning sermons and exhortations; and perhaps the opinion which somebody ventures, that Charles Wesley's hymns were among the most effective auxiliaries in the great Methodistical revival, is not far wide of the truth. Coming close after the deeply religious but somewhat somber hymns of Watts, Doddridge, and Cowper, and in full harmony with their evangelical spirit, the hymns of the Wesleys supplemented them with the joyous inspiration of a triumphant faith and assured hope.

American Methodist hymnody, of which the "Hymnal" is the last and most nearly complete outcome, was not a creation, but it has come to its present *status* as the result of a steady growth from a rather unpromising beginning. Wesley's "Sunday Service," brought over by Coke in 1784, never came into general use. Asbury and Hitt compiled a small hymn book, and a few years later a larger and better one was brought out by Hitt and Ware, the Book Agents. But the growth and better culture of the Church at length demanded something still better, and this demand was responded to (about 1825) by Dr. Bangs's compilation, a very wide advance beyond its predecessor, which was generally adopted, and continued in use till 1849, when it was superseded by the elaborate compilation

made by an able committee ordered by the General Conference; and about thirty years later that was replaced by the present "Hymnal."

The work done by the committee of 1848 was most able, thorough, and exceedingly valuable. A synopsis of that work, and especially of its results, was made out by Dr. James Floy, who seems to have taken a leading part in it, and is embodied in a copiously annotated copy of the book (an octavo) now in the possession of this writer, of which, probably, there never was but the one copy. When the late committee was engaged in their work it was loaned to one of its members, but evidently it was not much used. It would have been a valuable help in the preparation of this volume, and whoever may hereafter engage in the same line of inquiry would do well to avail themselves of its helps. Respecting the use of all the hymns that make up that volume, in all the principal hymn books of Methodism and of the Protestant denominations of America, the record is nearly complete, and altogether reliable. It has also the genesis of most of the alterations which are so amply stated by Mr. Nutter, but without any account of their authority or origin; and here it is made evident that a large share of them came from Dr. Floy himself. These emendations are also pretty fully heralded in an article from his pen in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," for April, 1844. Dr. Floy was very broadly learned in hymnology, a critic by temperament and practice, a master of pure English, *but not a poet.* And yet his emendations of the hymns that had been sung for a hundred years were readily adopted as decided improvements, notwithstanding the prevalent prejudice against "tinkering with the hymns." A comparison of the hymns that have been altered, as they now appear in most hymn books, with themselves in their original forms, will much more than justify the liberties that have been taken with them. It would have been well if the work now under notice had been enriched by the ripe fruits of the studies and labors that are embodied in that annotated volume. Nevertheless it is a work of great value and real excellence; though it would in that case have been much more so.

The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom. Household Edition. 12mo, pp. 318. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

Lucy Larcom has fairly won a place among the poets of the times, and this comprehensive collection of all she has written and chooses to preserve is the vindication of her claim to a niche in the Valhalla of song. She takes her place in the class with Hannah F. Gould, Mrs. Sigourney, the Cary sisters, and with perhaps two or three others, all of whom have written charming verses, but have failed to reach the altitudes to which a few favorites of the muses have attained. In her case, as with many others, relative inferiority in kind is compensated for by fecundity of production, for here we have more than three hundred pages, filled with nearly an equal number of independent productions, all of them, from the first one of the "Earlier Poems"—"Hannah Binding Shoes"—to the last of the "Later Poems"—"God bless You"—maintaining about the same level of

decidedly respectable mediocrity. A marked religious tone characterizes the collection, which, in our ignorance of the lady's church affinities, we would call Pietistic Unitarianism.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Poets of the Church. A Series of Biographical Sketches of Hymn Writers. With Notes on their Hymns. By EDWIN F. HATFIELD, D.D. 8vo, pp. 719. Price, $3.

Sunday Evenings with the Children. By Rev. BENJAMIN WAUGH. 8vo, pp. 370. Price, $2.

Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss, Author of "Stepping Heavenward." 8vo, pp. 573. Price, $2 25.

All published by Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 900 Broadway, N. Y.

Any book bearing the imprint of Randolph & Company may be relied upon for two capital qualities: It will be of a good degree of literary excellence, and will be of a wholesome religious character, as to both its theology and its tone and spirit; and, at the same time, the outward and material make-up of their books are excellent. To this general description the volumes above named answer altogether satisfactorily, and each in its way is decidedly good.

The late Dr. Hatfield, by his writings on hymnology, rendered a valuable service, and made the whole Church his debtor, which indebtedness has been generally recognized and freely conceded. The volume now before us is a posthumous publication, left by him, we are told, "nearly ready for the press." Its leading title is too broad, but the secondary one rightly describes the work as to its character and scope. The names, with the accompanying sketches, are arranged alphabetically, and without any other classification, beginning Adams (Sarah Fuller), Addison, Alexander (Cecil Frances), and proceeding to the end of the alphabet, where, of course, we find the name of Zinzendorf. The notes are chiefly biographical, slightly critical, and usually appreciative. Relatively prominent distinction is given to almost entirely unknown authors, several such being the writer of but a single accepted hymn. The book is a pleasant one to look through at leisure by those who delight in such studies; and because of the author's very extensive researches in his chosen specialty, and of his painstaking fidelity, these sketches have the additional very valuable and somewhat rare quality of almost complete trustworthiness.

Mr. Waugh's book of "Sunday Evenings with the Children" will be greatly valued by many a Christian mother for the aid it will give her in her efforts to present religious truths and motives to piety in an attractive form. The character of the work is properly indicated in a single sentence in the Preface: "It seeks to make the young spirit *feel* rather than *see* what in conduct is right and wrong—to inspire it to instinctively love righteousness and hate iniquity." The matter is given in the form of "services," forty-two in number, made up of a hymn, a lesson, a

prayer, and a sermon, the first and second judiciously acceptable, the third concise and simple, and the last much more like a mother's talk with her little ones than an ordinary and appropriate pulpit discourse. With such a helper every judicious Christian parent may easily make the Sabbath evening the happiest season for the children of all the week.

If there can be such a thing as hereditary goodness—and why not?—the daughter of the saintly Payson would seem to have been entitled to it; and the story of her life, and the portraiture of her character, given in these pages, but not before unknown, seem to justify the belief that we have in her case a demonstration of that principle. Her lot was indeed cast in the richest garden of piety, both devotional and active; and yet it was not until her twelfth year that she dared to account herself a child of God. Her whole after life was a beautiful illustration of both the personal and the active graces of religion. Gifted as few others have been, she consecrated all that she possessed a willing sacrifice. Her Christian experience appears to have been steady and full of comfort, but not especially radiant; her activities were wisely directed and productive of the very best fruits, and in great abundance. In all her relations, especially those of wife and mother, she was a model woman, and she was content to abide within a "woman's sphere." She excelled as a spiritual guide and comforter, and her very presence was sunshine. Her writings, through which she "being dead yet speaketh," are among the very best of their class.

The Brooklyn Tabernacle. A Collection of One Hundred and Four Sermons Preached by T. DE WITT TALMAGE, D.D. Imperial 8vo, pp. 400. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Talmage is a genius—a very Hercules at doing things—and he does them as nobody else could.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS.—*Coleridge.* By H. D. TRAIL. 12mo, pp. 199. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Among the best of the series.

OUTLINE MISSIONARY SERIES.—*India: Country, People, Missions.* By J. T. GRACEY, Seven Years a Missionary in India. Published for the Author.

A valuable and thoroughly reliable contribution to current missionary literature.

Men of Invention and Industry. By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D., Author of "Thrift," etc. 12mo, pp. 382. Harper & Brothers.

Whatever Mr. Smiles writes is pretty sure of a reading; and wherever read his writings will do good. This work is biographical—its subjects chiefly Englishmen renowned as "Knights of Industry," creators of values.

Hints to Self-Educated Ministers, including Local Preachers, Exhorters, and Other Christians. By JAMES PORTER, D.D. With an Introduction by Bishop WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D.D. Fourth Edition. 12mo, pp. 299. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Dr. Porter's "Hints" have now been before the public for a number of years, and the verdict is altogether in its favor, as is shown by the unusual fact that it has reached its fourth edition. Its great excellence is, that it fulfills the promise of its title.

The Reality of Religion. By HENRY J. N. VAN DYKE, JR., D.D., Pastor of the Brick Church, New York. 12mo, pp. 146. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Six discourses, probably originally prepared for and used in the pulpit—orthodox, evangelical, and spiritual.

A First Italian Reading Book (Italian Principia, Part II). New York: Harper & Brothers.

Custom and Myth. By ANDREW LANG, M.A. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The world is full of traditional fancies, many of which have not yet become entirely powerless, and, whether believed in or rejected as worthless, people like to read or hear about them. Mr. Lang here tells about more than a dozen such, in a pleasant style and with an instructive method.

T. Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura. Libri Sex. With an Introduction and Notes to Books I. III, and V. By FRANCIS W. KELSEY, M.A., Professor of Latin in Lake Forest University. 12mo, pp. 385. Boston: John Allyn.

This is a book for scholars in the Latin language, who together make up only a small auditory for a learned work. It is also, on merely literary grounds, well suited for a college text-book—for which its notes preeminently adapt it—but there are better works for the same use. Lucretius was the lineal ancestor of all our modern materialistic atheists, and despite the theory of evolution, the race has not improved.

The Philosophy of Ralph Cudworth. A Study of the True Intellectual System of the Universe. By CHARLES E. LOWREY, A.M. 12mo, pp. 212. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

An analysis and study of the "True Intellectual System," perhaps the ablest work of its class ever written in English. The writer, one of the younger men at Michigan University, appears to have thoroughly mastered his subject.

A Study in Human Nature. By LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D. 12mo, pp. 76.

Outlines of Psychology. Succinctly Presented, with Illustrations and a Chart. Together with an Allegorical Illustration of the Whole. 12mo, pp. 82. Chautauqua Assembly.

Baptists and Liberty of Conscience. By HENRY C. VEDDER. 8vo, pp. 62. Cincinnati: J. R. Baumes.

The Baptists have always favored religious liberty. So have the Quakers, the Moravians, and the Methodists. No doubt they have been sincere in their professions; and possibly they would always have adhered to that position, had they not been without power to persecute others. But power is a great temptation to the exercise of tyranny.

The Story of the Resurrection of Christ, Told Once More. With Remarks upon the Character of Christ, and the Historical Claims of the Four Gospels. By WILLIAM H. FARNESS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 151. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Comforting Thoughts. Spoken by Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, in Sermons, Addresses, and Prayers. Arranged by IRENE OVINGTON. 18mo, pp. 147. New York: Fords, Howard, & Hulbert.

The Lost City: or, The Explorers in Central Asia. By DAVID KERR. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 173. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Madam. A Novel. By Mrs. Oliphant, Author of "The Ladies Lindores," etc. 18vo, pp. 475. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Not of Man, but of God. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D.D., Author of "Half Truths and the Truth," etc. 12mo, pp. 191. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

A concise and exceedingly well put line of arguments in favor of the divine origin of the Bible and its abiding inspiration.

Cambridge Sermons. By Alexander M'Kenzie. 12mo, pp. 319. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Ezra Abbott. Published for the Alumni of Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass. 8vo, pp. 73.

Memorial Addresses and Tributes.

Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway; or, Stories of the Locomotive in Every Land. By William Sloane Kennedy. Second Edition. 12mo, pp. 254. Chicago: S. C. Grigg & Co.

The railway and the locomotive have not yet attained to a place among the things of yesterday, for the men are yet among us who were when they were not, and who saw their faintest beginnings. But they are rapidly making a history of their growth and achievements, and Mr. Kennedy renders a public service in bringing together their "stories," and in telling of their "wonders and curiosities," which are equally amusing and instructive. Some, however, are beginning to doubt whether "the railroad is the good democrat" that it was once supposed to be. As a political factor it certainly has its price, and, in the vast machine of modern industry, while the scream of its whistle is worth a thousand men, it renders its services less for the easement of the operative than for the enrichment of the capitalist.

The Methodist Year-Book for 1885. The 101st Year of the Separate Organization of American Methodism. Edited by W. H. De Puy, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A thesaurus of current facts and figures, marvelously condensed, and giving very full information of Methodist affairs for 1884, with glances into those of 1885. It is very convenient for reference.

The Adventures of Prince Lazybones, and Other Stories. By Mrs. W. J. Hays, Author of "Princess Idleways." Illustrated. Square 16mo, pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Jack's Courtship. A Sailor's Yarn of Love and Shipwreck. By W. Clark Russell, Author of "The Wreck of the Grosvenor," etc. 18mo, pp. 474. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Harper's Franklin Square Library. — *The Lover's Creed.* By Mrs. Cashel Hoey.—*Sir Moses Montefiore.* By Lucien Wolf.—*Memoirs of a Man of the World.* By Edmund Yates, Volumes I. and II.—*Mistletoe Bough.* Edited by M. E. Braddon.—*Face to Face.* By R. E. Francillon.—*By Mead and Stream.* By Charles Gibbon.—*Within the Clasp.* By J. Berwick Harwood.—*Philistia.* By Cecil Power.—*The Talk of the Town.* By James Payn.—*Madam.* By Mrs. Oliphant.—*From Post to Finish.* By Hawley Smart. Illustrated.—*A Good Hater.* By Frederick Boyle.—*Under Which King?* By Compton Reade.—*Tie and Trick.* By Hawley Smart.—*The Wearing of the Green.* By Basil.—*The Crime of Christmas-Day.* By the Author of "My Ducats and My Daughter."—*The White Witch.*

Yours fraternally
J. S. Inskip

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1885.

ART. I.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

The Conflict of the Centuries. By C. W. MILLER, A.M., D.D. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1884.

THE title-page of this book does not afford any definite idea of its theme. In the preface we are informed that "the sole object is to place in a true biblical light the great questions of sin and regeneration." A more important theme could not be selected; and, however opinions may differ as to many of the views advanced by the learned author, none will question that he has produced a suggestive book. The doctrinal views discussed are various, and embrace the most vital questions of Christian theology. Some of the points examined fix attention on subjects frequently treated of in the early days of Methodism in conversation, in the pulpit, and by the press, but which in more recent times have been relegated to comparative obscurity, as if antiquated or of small importance. Many glory in this, as an evidence of the advancing culture of the membership of the Churches, and an unmistakable proof of increasing liberality. It may be permitted to some to doubt whether the cause of Christian truth has gained by the change. Undoubtedly the thorough discussion of foundation truths is a healthy exercise for the mind. Intelligent conversation on these doctrines imparted interest to many a social gathering, wakened many minds to earnest thought, and disciplined not a few in the manly use of their reasoning powers in a manner not often found in the social gatherings of professing Christians of the present day. Nothing can supply the place of a clear understanding of the cardinal doctrines of New Testament Christianity

in the formation and development of Christian character. When these have been fairly mastered, and their practical power felt in a clear personal experience, there will be ground to expect a generation of church members who will not be carried about with every wind of doctrine; who will be ready witnesses for the Master, and fruitful in every good word and work. Such were many of the early Methodists: men who knew what they believed, and the reasons on which their faith was based; whose faith gave to the doctrines which they received the reality of facts; whose experience made their creed a living power within them, and filled them with an irrepressible desire to lead others to apprehend the blessedness which they enjoyed. Ruin in Adam, redemption in Christ, conscious salvation daily borne about in the heart, were realities that would not permit them to be inactive. Hence, like their Master, they went out "to seek and to save" the perishing: their theme always the same, their constant song, "What we have felt and seen with confidence we tell;" their highest joy, next to the knowledge of their own salvation, to see sinners converted to God. If the thoughtful study of the theme presented by the author in this book should tend to the multiplication of such members in all the Churches of Christendom, and should result in similar ingatherings of saved souls into the fold of our common Master, all would rejoice.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part comprises a few pages of preliminary observations on The Theories of Sin, followed by four chapters, with the following topics: I. Philosophical Theories. II. Ecclesiastical Theories. III. The Mosaic Account of the Primal Condition of Man, and of the World in which He was Placed. IV. The Bible Statement of Sin. The second part treats of Regeneration, and consists of three chapters: I. Theories of Regeneration. II. Evangelical Doctrine of Regeneration. III. Regeneration is, in its Sphere, Complete Salvation. These chapters are followed by a "Conclusion" treating of Results of Regeneration. The author presents some interesting statements as to the theology of the early Church, and also that of the Reformation periods. Many names that are now little known to the general reader are brought under notice, and a vigorous effort is made to rehabilitate in the good opinion of the Church some whose names have for centu-

ries been regarded with distrust as the abettors of heresy. The views of these writers are enlarged upon, and their condemnation is traced mainly to the personal influence of Augustine, who is represented as having acquired a "theological dictatorship" over the Western Church. The genesis and development of the Augustinian system are briefly sketched, and its leading doctrines placed in sharp contrast with the earlier doctrines of Christianity as held and taught in the Eastern Church. Attention is fixed on the undue influence exerted by Augustinianism on the creeds of the Reformation, and the prominence given to the views of that school of thought is traced to an historical basis.

The service of the "Remonstrants," at a later date in their memorable struggle, is distinctly recognized, and the names of some of them are set forth, with a summary of the views they advanced on the disputed doctrines. That controversy played a very important part in the development of Protestantism, and its history should be well considered by those who habitually speak of the theology of the Reformation as if it were exclusively Calvinistic. The Remonstrants were undoubtedly, in some instances, driven too far by a natural reaction from the fatalistic teaching of many of the disciples of Augustine; yet none can doubt that they had a goodly proportion of truth on their side, and few will deny that, notwithstanding the gravity and importance of the doctrinal points on which they erred, they were, in their distinguishing views, quite as near to the teachings of New Testament Christianity as were their sturdy opponents who branded them as heretics, and covered their peculiar teachings with obloquy.

In England "the Conflict" was long-protracted and severe. Its traces can be found indelibly stamped on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church of England. These are strongly tinctured with Calvinism, and yet many object to them because they do not go far enough in that direction. Like most compromises, they did not satisfy either party. The majority of "the Puritans" held strongly pronounced Calvinistic sentiments; but even among them a different school of thought was not without its representatives who valiantly maintained the conflict. Of these Dr. John Goodwin may be taken as a pattern, a man whose "Redemption Redeemed" is

a noble monument, and sufficient, if its author had not written another page, to secure for his name a distinguished place among the mighty men who took part in this controversy. The conflict did not even then cease. Calvinism, which is really a second edition of Augustinianism, not improved by the slight alterations or additions introduced, is a system compact and logical. When the first principles are conceded, it is not easy to reject the conclusions arrived at. The moment, however, that it is applied to practice, the system proves weak, and leads to results of a most disastrous nature. Albert Barnes fully acknowledged this when he said that Calvinism is very good theology for the study, but badly adapted for revivals. The most trying ordeal the system has yet been subjected to, was in connection with the great revival of religion called Methodism. Naturally "the Conflict of the Centuries" came to the front again. The battle was wide-spread and hard-fought. The field was unfavorable for the doctrines of Augustine.

One of the greatest boons that Methodism has conferred on mankind is no doubt to be found in the remodeled theology of which that system has been the parent. That theology is thoroughly anti-Calvinistic. Hence, from the first, it had arranged in open hostility to it the majority of those who were looked upon as the most learned professors of Protestant orthodoxy. Many of these seem to have thought that they had nothing to do but to give their opponents a bad name, and place them under the ban of their censure, in order to secure their complete overthrow. Hence they branded them as "Pelagians" or "Semi-Pelagians;" denounced them as ignorant fanatics; and placed in their way all possible difficulties and annoying restrictions, and gave to Arminianism as prominent a place among "pestilent heresies," as they could. Logic of this kind is not regarded in the present day as very convincing, or especially adapted to the satisfactory clearing up of theological difficulties. We can see in it only an illustration of the bitterness of those who are confronted by arguments which they cannot answer, and, in some cases, an exhibition of their utter ignorance of the systems compared.

Augustine read the Bible in the light of a fatalistic philosophy,—pressed the doctrines of Christianity into a fatalistic mold,—coined words not met with in the Bible to represent

thoughts not taught there, and by his personal influence secured for those doctrines an authoritative recognition that was well-nigh supreme. His opponents followed too much in his steps, adopting a different philosophy. Hence they also erred widely from the simple truth of the Gospel, though erring in an opposite extreme. The Augustinians, creating an extra-biblical theory of sin, and an anti-biblical theory of the nature of God's relation to man, reared on this foundation a system of doctrine that is certainly "another gospel" from that contained in the New Testament Scriptures. They magnified the justice of God at the expense of his mercy, and sacrificed that very justice to an imaginary fatalistic sovereignty. Their opponents, on the other hand, underrated the effect of the fall, virtually denied the existence of original sin, and so painted the condition of fallen man as to render it by no means an easy matter to see what constituted the necessity for the Gospel scheme of redemption, or wherein consisted man's absolute dependence on the grace of God for salvation.

Evangelical Arminianism, as embodied in modern Methodism, took a different course. Leaving philosophical theories aside, it permitted the Bible to speak for itself. Perfectly satisfied that the book contained a revelation from God, and that that revelation must be all-sufficient for the purposes for which it was given to man, it permitted common sense, not a philosophical theory, to interpret the teachings of the Book; and so, by the blessing of God, it has restored to the Church catholic the theology of the New Testament. It would be an interesting and a tempting theme to follow out the history of the prolonged conflict between the two systems, and trace in modern theology the victory won by simple Bible truth, manifested in the banishment from the pulpit of doctrines which one hundred years ago formed the staple of a large proportion of the sermons preached in the evangelical churches of Christendom, and their relegation to the theological lecture-room, or the pages of books that command few readers save theological students. We shall not, however, in this paper enter on this course, nor attempt a critical examination of Dr. Miller's strange book, of which we now take leave, in order to examine the broader contrast between Augustinianism and evangelical Arminianism.

These two systems have much in common, and yet they differ widely both in their fundamental principle and in their conceptions of some of the most important doctrines of the Gospel. The stand-point from which the subject is approached is vital. Dr. Charles Hodge, the ablest modern interpreter of the former system, places it in the answer to the question, "Who determines who are to be saved: God or man?" * Augustinianism teaches that God determines absolutely. Arminianism, that man's will is an essential factor in the problem. There might be some difficulty in settling the meaning of the word "determines;" but apart from that, it is evident Dr. Hodge does not fully state "the principle." His statement does not cover the *whole* case. All men will not be saved. No believer in the Bible questions this. Who determines who shall be damned? Does God determine who shall be damned in precisely the same sense in which he determines who shall be saved? This has always been a sore point with Augustinians. In every case the will lies back of the determination. In the sense in which the word is here used by Dr. Hodge, there can be no conflict between God's will and his determination. The ground of that determination is clearly set forth by him as "the good pleasure of God,"† or in the words quoted from Augustine, "out of his mere good mercy." The holders of this creed are very much disposed to look at the elect alone, and to speak only of the grace of God toward them. When compelled to speak of the reprobates they adopt an evasive phraseology which is considerably modified, and by no means as direct as they employ in reference to the elected ones; hence *they* are spoken of as "passed by," "justly left to perish in their apostasy," etc. The Westminster Confession is more outspoken, and more manly, when it says, God "foreordained others to everlasting death."

Evangelical Arminians believe as strongly in the sovereignty of God as their opponents; but they regard that sovereignty as the rule of an infinitely wise and loving God, one who is the Father as well as the King of his people, and one who is the common Father of all the human race; too good to be unkind to any, too just to be partial. They believe that he knows his own mind, and that when he reveals that mind in the Script-

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, p. 330. † *Ibid.*, p. 333.

ures his statements may be depended on. They believe that he has revealed his determination as to who shall be saved and who shall be damned, and that that determination is clearly set forth in the words, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." They are unwilling to concede to any creature the right to substitute a word of different meaning for the word "believeth" in this passage. They hold that God alone determines (but not unconditionally) who shall be saved, that is, all who believe and are baptized; and who shall be damned, and that that number includes every one who "believeth not."

This principle they meet with every-where in the New Testament. Inwoven into its frame-work, it naturally harmonizes with all the utterances of the book. Hence they find no difficulty with such passages as "who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth;" nor are they forced to contradict the Old Testament when they read, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live." When any system, by its fundamental principle, places those who embrace it in such a position as to embarrass them in the interpretation of some of the plainest, most practical, and most characteristic texts of the Bible, it is a clear indication that that principle is unsound. Most obviously the Augustinian system, so far as it applies its differentiating principle, makes havoc of the teachings of the Bible. Dr. Hodge correctly says: "Although this may be said to be the turning-point between these great systems, which have divided the Church in all ages, yet that point of necessity involves all the other matters of difference; namely, the nature of original sin; the motive of God in providing redemption; the nature and design of the work of Christ; and the nature of divine grace, or the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus, in a great measure, the whole system of theology, and of necessity the character of our religion, depend on the view taken of this particular question. It is, therefore, a question of the highest practical importance, and not a matter of idle speculation." * As illustrating the effects of this divergence of view on this "turning-point between these great systems," we shall compare the teaching of the two systems on

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, p. 330.

a few of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, beginning with original sin.

A preliminary inquiry might not be out of place here. On the principles of Augustinianism is sin of any kind, original or actual, possible? A leading doctrine of the system is, "that God, according to the counsel of his will, hath fore-ordained whatsoever cometh to pass."* His decrees are comprehensive, including all things that come to pass, past, present, future, good or evil. As God is supreme, there is no being who can coerce him. Hence these decrees are "according to the counsel of his will." They are a transcript of that will. Nothing contrary to them can take place. God's revealed law, written on heart or in book, is but a portion of his will made known to man. That law cannot be opposed to his real will. Nothing contrary to his will is done. But sin is a transgression of God's law; that is, something opposed to his will—which would be something that he had not fore-ordained. This is not the only absurdity which arises from this doctrine of "the decrees." It seems to teach that God is the author of sin. Most Calvinists stoutly deny that this is fairly deducible from their principles; and many of them, so far from believing it, are as loud and as strong in denouncing it as any who differ from them in theory can be. Still it is hard for them to clear the doctrine from this charge. Some have tried to avoid the difficulty by maintaining "that God is an infinitely holy agent in effecting that which, produced *from* God, is righteous, but produced *in* us is sin." Few will see much force in this. Dr. A. A. Hodge argues that God cannot be the author of sin "from the nature of sin, which is, as to its essence, *ἀνομία*, want of conformity to law, and disobedience to the Lawgiver."† But it is hard to see how God can be disobeyed, on the principle that "The doctrine of the Bible is, that all events, whether necessary or contingent, good or sinful, are intended in the purpose of God, and that their futurition, or actual occurrence, is rendered absolutely certain." "Nothing can occur that was not foreseen, and if foreseen it must have been intended." If every *ἀνομία* was "intended," "purposed," "rendered absolutely certain," by

* Shorter Catechism, chap. ii. 7.

† "Outlines of Theology," p. 175. London: T. Nelson & Sons. 1863.

God, who was the real author of it? That some earnest Calvinists have felt that this was a logical consequence from their principles will be evident from the following extract:

> Sin did not slip in unperceived among created beings; no! He whose single thought comprehends eternity's unbounded round, ordained its being and fixed its limits with the utmost precision; nor shall a single thought, more or less than is fixed in his all-wise plan, be ever found among rational beings. *Moral* Evil, that seemed to threaten with destruction the whole empire of God, is made by infinite wisdom, subservient to the manifesting and glorifying of all his moral excellences, and must have been ordained, determined, and permitted for that very end, as evidently appears from the everlasting covenant of Grace, in which such rich and ample provision is made to deliver the guilty subjects from the dire effects thereof. Christ could not have been set up from everlasting, and appointed to appear in the fullness of time to purge away sin by the sacrifice of himself, had not the being of it then been fixed and determined. His engagement with the divine Father in eternity is a full and clear demonstration that sin, or moral evil, is no accidental thing, but *a wise and holy ordination* of God, for the manifestation of his own glory, in the person of his dear Son, the adorable Redeemer from it.*

But to return to *original sin*. The teaching of Augustine has secured for this term a place in Christian theology. The opinions held on this doctrine exert a mighty influence on the whole theological system of those who receive them. The language of the late Bishop Marvin on this point is none too strong:

> I say that the depraved condition of man is the starting-point in Christian doctrine. So deeply is this true, that the view a man takes of this first fact will shape his whole theology. Wrong thinking here, by a logical necessity, vitiates the entire creed. For the Christian theology is not a jumble of postulates accidentally brought together: it is a *system of truth* in which every postulate is vitally related to all the rest. The fact in which the whole system has its historical origin denied, the system loses all its coherency and meaning. This fact misconceived, the entire system takes a false coloring. No one doctrine is more vitally related to the whole Christian theology than this. Heresy at this point loosens the whole fabric—disorganizes the system.

Augustinians are forced to approach this subject solely in the light of Adam's personal sin. Their theory of the atonement

* "Predestination Calmly Considered from Principles of Reason." By William Tucker. Boston: William Pierce. 1835.

necessitates this. Their teaching is consistent with the standpoint from which they view the subject. The Westminster Confession says:

> By this sin they (our first parents) fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions. This corruption of nature, during this life, doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be, through Christ, pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin. Every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal.

This is about as strong a statement of the case as can possibly be made. The picture is dark, sad, depressing. The condition of lost man is simply terrible. It is not easy to see how any person, Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian, can escape from one iota of this while accepting the teachings of the New Testament. It is true that the term "federal head" is not found in the Scriptures. It is true that we are nowhere told, in so many words, that Adam's sin has been imputed to all his posterity, and necessarily involves "the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and, therefore, in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation." * Yet none can deny that we are expressly taught that "through one man sin entered into the world;" that "by the trespass of the one the many died;" that "the judgment came of one unto condemnation;" that "through one man's disobedience the many were made sinners." It is plain that these passages teach that the sin of our first parents has

* Thirty-nine Articles, Article IX.

affected their descendants, not a few, but every one of them; that its effect has been deep and baneful; that it has changed their relation to law and made them "sinners." St. Paul had no idea of sin as "a fiction," as some speak of it. Taught by the Holy Spirit, he teaches us that the effects of the first transgression were real, direful, destructive. If we regard the condition of the human race in the light of the fall alone, no picture that man has yet drawn could exaggerate the guilt and misery of man. By nature all are children of wrath. Depravity is universal. "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." It is both total and universal.

It would be an interesting study to inquire, in the light of the Bible, whether it would have been in harmony with the character of the God revealed to us in that book to have permitted the continued existence and multiplication of a race reduced to such a condition. This would, however, draw us aside from our subject, and, if attempted, might merely demonstrate the dangers connected with the attempt to discover what an infinite God can consistently do, and the utter inadequacy of our powers to handle such a theme. Keeping to revelation, our *sole* authority on all such matters, we know that he did not do so. No member of the human race was ever born into this world affected *only* by the sin of Adam. This world never upheld one solitary being "naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam" who was not at the same time *a redeemed man*. We can form no scriptural notion of the condition of man if we omit this glorious truth from our consideration. It is doubtful if the attempt would ever have been made had it not been a necessity to a system, the cardinal doctrines of which are unconditional particular election and reprobation, and a limited atonement. It is impossible to avoid "misleading conceptions" of the nature and effects of original sin if the question be regarded from the side of sin alone. In the Bible the narrative of the fall is brief but full. The announcement of the Seed of the woman, and the effect of his work on the results of man's sin, are woven into the one narrative. It seems as if designed to teach us that the only correct way in which to contemplate the problem of man's relation to sin is to look on him as affected by *two* great events, each of which virtually took place before his birth, each of which exerts a powerful

influence on him, that influence being in many respects unaffected by any action or disposition of his own.

To the evangelical Arminian the doctrines of original sin, of universal and total depravity, are terrible facts in human history. They constitute the basis of the necessity for the redemptive scheme unfolded to us in the Gospel. If man were not lost he would not have needed a Saviour. Hence theologians of this school have no sympathy with any who make little of the fall, or deny the doctrine of original sin. As they dwell in thought on these "facts" in their awful nature and direful effects, they cannot but wonder at and adore the grace of God as they begin to apprehend the meaning of those wondrous words, "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." They magnify the grace of God which met the evil at the fountain, and brought to bear on man an influence more mighty than the sin of Adam, and reversing its curse.

As the connection of Adam's posterity with his sin and its effects are primarily independent of their will and beyond their power, so their connection with the second Adam is divinely ordained and independent of their will. As by the trespass of one he was made [potentially] a sinner, so by the obedience of One he is made [provisionally] righteous. As through the sin of the first his nature is corrupt and he is inclined to evil, and that continually; so, through his connection with the second Adam, he is quickened to a new life, and becomes the subject of the influence and strivings of the Holy Spirit; and if at last he shall perish, it will be because he perversely rejects offered mercy.

Contemplated simply in view of God's infinity, both of righteousness and power, sin becomes the one tremendous fact, in man's relations to his Maker and his Judge. But it is not thus that we are taught to think of God; but rather that he is to us in Christ reconciling the world to himself.

The central truth of the Christian system is the doctrine of the atonement. From the essential character of this doctrine the Christian system is spoken of as "the ministry of reconciliation" (*τῆς καταλλαγῆς*). The views entertained on this subject are naturally affected by the "turning-point," as Dr. Charles Hodge calls it.

Both Calvinists and Arminians believe in the necessity for an atonement, and that Christ by his death made a propitiation for sins, that only by faith in his death can any sinner be saved. They differ widely in their idea of the *purpose* of God in providing the atonement. The Augustinian finds the motive which prompted God the Father to make the atonement in his "amazing love to his own people, determining him, in perfect consistency with his truth and justice, to assume himself, in the person of his Son, the responsibility of bearing the penalty and satisfying justice." * They teach that Christ "assumed the law-place of *his people;*" that "he obeyed and suffered as our substitute;" that while there was no transfer of moral character, "he assumed the guilt (just obligation to punishment) of our sins," (the sins of his own people); that "he did not render a pecuniary satisfaction," and therefore did not suffer the same degree nor duration, nor in all respects the same kind of sufferings, which the law would have inflicted on the sinner in person. But he did suffer the *very* penalty of the law; that is, sin was punished in him in strict rigor of justice. "His sufferings were no substitute for a penalty, but those very penal evils which rigorous justice demanded of his exalted person, when he stood in our place, as a full equivalent for all that was demanded of us."

As to the effects of the atonement, Augustinians teach: "1. It produced no change in God, any more than do acts of creation and providence. 2. It expiated the guilt of sin. 3. It actually secures our salvation, and does not simply put us in a salvable state. According to the terms of the covenant of grace, the impetration of redemption by Christ is infallibly connected with its application by the Holy Ghost. 4. Not being the payment of a pecuniary debt, which *ipso facto* liberates, but a vicarious penal satisfaction, it remains, so far as we are concerned, as a matter of right in the hands of God to grant its benefits to whom he pleases, when and on whatsoever terms he pleases."

The right of the distinguished Professor from whose pen these citations are made to be regarded as a representative expounder of the school of thought of which his lamented father (whose place the son not unworthily fills) was for years the

* "The Atonement." By Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D. London: T. Nelson & Son. 1870. Pp. 29, 30.

recognized leader, not in this country alone, but throughout the Christian world, will be generally conceded. We shall not now attempt to compare these propositions one with another, and point out the stupendous difficulties in the way of bringing them into harmony with themselves. We cite them merely to show what are the views of Augustinians on this vital doctrine. The statement distinctly teaches that the atonement "reconciled *us* to God;" "that it actually secures our salvation" (that is, the salvation of all for whom it was provided), "and does not simply put us in a salvable state." This thought is the very essence of the Augustinian system, so far as the doctrine of atonement is concerned. It is thus stated by Dr. Charles Hodge:

> That the fall of Adam brought all his posterity into a state of condemnation, sin, and misery, from which they are utterly unable to deliver themselves. From the mass of fallen men God elected a number innumerable to eternal life, and left the rest of mankind to the just recompense of their sins. That the ground of this election is not the foresight of any thing in the one class to distinguish them favorably from the members of the other class, but the good pleasure of God. That for the salvation of those thus chosen to eternal life, God gave his own Son to become man, and to obey and suffer for his people, thus making a full satisfaction for sin and bringing in everlasting righteousness, *rendering the ultimate salvation of the elect absolutely certain.**

This may be regarded as the latest setting forth of Augustinian theology. The work from which this extract is made is the chosen text-book placed in the hands of the students and rising ministry of this system. What a blessing it would be if each professor, when lecturing on these sections, would fix the attention of students on Fletcher's "Checks," set the system on its "legs," and let them see the "left leg" as well as the "right!" That Dr. Hodge felt keenly the unsightliness of this "left leg" is clear from the words, "God condemns no man, and fore-ordains no man to condemnation, except on account of his sin. But the preterition of such men, leaving them, rather than others equally guilty, to suffer the penalty of their sins, is distinctly declared to be a sovereign act."†

The peculiar teachings of Augustinianism on the doctrine of the atonement are, that the design of God in providing

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, p. 333. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 346.

redemption was to render certain the salvation of a definite number of persons—the elect—and of no others (the Westminster Confession says, "and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished"); that for the salvation of these (see above) God gave his own Son, and for these alone. God did not give his son for one outside the number of the elect. The atonement did not make possible the salvation of one human being, save the elect. The reaction of this theory of the atonement on their theory of original sin will now be apparent. To shield the justice of God, the whole race of man must be theoretically placed in a position deserving of eternal torment. Then his mercy is magnified in saving an elect number out of this vile mass. And this is the system that Dr. Hodge calls "Pauline, Augustinian, and Calvinian!" Paul at least would stamp it as "another gospel."

Let us look, for a moment, at the doctrine taught by evangelical Arminianism. As to what are called "theories of the atonement," it does not profess to find any in the New Testament. It does find certain great principles laid down, certain facts stated, which make clear the purpose of God in redemption, the method by which it is to be applied, and the duty of those to whom the gospel of salvation is proclaimed. Redemption is clearly set before us as God's remedy for man's sin. Had man not sold himself into the bondage of sin, redemption would have been uncalled for. The mission of the Son is traced to the boundless love of God: "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." 1 John iv, 10. That love was the yearning of the great heart of the Father to all men: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John iii, 16. It teaches that Jesus really knew the particular love which moved the Father to send his Son into the world; and in this verse he declares what that love was; and therefore any system which necessarily contradicts this cannot be scriptural. It fully recognizes the necessity of the death of Christ, as "without shedding of blood there is no remission." The sufferings of Christ are regarded as vicarious and expiatory. These points are emphasized by none more

heartily than by evangelical Arminians. By none is the sinner more clearly or more earnestly exhorted to "behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;" by none is the inquirer more constantly instructed that "there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." In many points there is perfect agreement between the two schools of thought on this doctrine. But the moment that we touch on the motive of God in providing redemption, or the effect of the atonement on those for whom it was provided, or on the extent of the atonement, the systems became antagonistic.

Evangelical Arminians believe that God really loved all mankind. Hence they cannot accept that as a correct statement of the motive of God in providing redemption which says:

> This representation is so predominant in the Scriptures, namely, that the peculiar love of God to his people, to his Church, to the elect, is the source of the gift of Christ, of the mission of the Holy Spirit, and of all other saving blessings, that it cannot be ignored in any view of the plan and purpose of salvation. With this representation every other statement of the Scriptures must be consistent, and therefore the theory which denies this great and precious truth, and which assumes that the love which secured the gift of God's eternal Son was mere benevolence, which had all men for its object, many of whom are allowed to perish, must be unscriptural.*

Evidently this last view would require the passage from John to read, "God so loved the [elect] world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever [of that elect world] believeth in him [all of whom would inevitably] should not perish, but have everlasting life." So far from teaching that the atonement makes the salvation of the elect absolutely certain, evangelical Arminianism maintains that it does not make certain the salvation of any one special individual, but that it does place all for whom it was made in such a position that their salvation is possible, and that it secures for every one of them that which by nature, as fallen children of Adam, they could not have—power through the grace of the Holy Spirit to "work out their own salvation with fear and trembling."

As to the extent of the atonement, evangelical Arminians teach that it was made for all our race; that God designed

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, pp. 550, 551.

that its provisions should be as wide as the effects of the fall of Adam; that where that fall affected man independently of his individual will, the atonement affects him in a similar way; that as Adam's sin entails guilt, "the Lamb of God taketh away the sin of the world;" that as man was inclined only to evil, the Holy Spirit works in all, inclining them to will and to do that which is pleasing to God; that as to man's personal sins, the atonement is a provision of infinite wisdom whereby, without tarnishing his justice, dishonoring his law, or abating one iota of the abomination in which he holds sin, God can "be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." This system teaches, that the atonement is a provision on the ground of which God can and does offer and promise eternal life—that is, all the blessings of salvation here and hereafter—to every member of the fallen race who is willing to accept his offer and comply with the conditions on which that offer is made. It does not attempt to pry into things not written, or solve the problem as to *how* the atonement affects God, or *how* it makes it consistent with his righteousness and holiness to offer forgiveness and salvation to sinful men. It looks upon the Gospel as God's great proclamation of amnesty to fallen man, announcing the fact of that amnesty, the conditions both as to method and time on which individuals may avail themselves of that proclamation, and an earnest, urgent call to embrace its provisions. This scheme is met with all through the New Testament. Passage after passage asserts in the clearest terms the universality of the atonement. Who can doubt the meaning of words such as these, "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved?" John iii, 17. "He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world?" 1 John ii, 2. The meaning of these words is unmistakable. As Bengel puts it, "*Quam late peccatum, tam late propitiatio.*" Nor is this teaching confined to simple declaration. As if foreseeing that some would attempt to confine the grace of God within limits devised by themselves, God has put the matter as forcefully as words can put it in passages the parallelisms of which render the meaning absolutely certain. Thus we read in Rom. v, 18, "As . . . judgment came unto all men to condemnation, even so . . . the free

gift came unto all men to justification of life." "As through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous." Rom. v, 19. "The many"—not one more—not one less.

The universality of the atonement is taught by the invitations of the Gospel, which are addressed to all; by the exhortations of the Gospel, in which all are urged to repent and believe. Where any are spoken of as rejecting these offers and coming into condemnation, they are charged with refusing to receive the grace of God, and are condemned solely on account of their perverse unbelief. So abundant is the testimony in the New Testament that "Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man," that it is difficult to see how any intelligent person can read that book and deny this doctrine, unless he comes to the book under the influence of a strong prejudice. The strength of the testimony of the New Testament on this subject will be evident from the following extracts from Dr. A. A. Hodge's "Treatise on the Atonement:"

> I insist that, as the Gospel is wholly a matter of divine revelation, the answer to the question, 'What did Christ do on earth in order to reconcile us to God?' be sought exclusively in a full and fair induction from all the Scriptures teach upon the subject. From a survey of all the matter revealed on the subject, what, in the judgment of a mind unprejudiced by theories, did the sacred writers intend us to believe? The result of such an examination, unmodified by philosophy or secular analogies, is alone, we insist, the true doctrine of the redemptive work of Christ.—Page 22.

Every honest mind will say that this is a fair putting of the case. No believer in the Bible can ask more, nor be satisfied with less. This presentation of the case at once commends the author to his reader, and bespeaks for his work an attentive and candid reading. We follow the writer through, and how does *he* apply those noble principles? That he may not be misrepresented in any particular he shall speak for himself; the extract is taken from the very close of the book:

> Remember what we have over and over again affirmed: (1) Christ did literally and absolutely die for all men, in the sense of securing for all a lengthened respite and many temporal benefits, moral as well as physical. (2) His atonement was sufficient for

all. (3) Exactly adapted to the needs of each. (4) It is offered indiscriminately to all; hence, as far as God's preceptive will is concerned, the atonement is universal. It is to be preached to all, and to be accepted by all. It is for all, as far as determining the duty of all and laying obligations on all. And practically, it makes salvation objectively available to all upon the condition of faith. God's decretive will or design in making the atonement is a very different matter.—Page 393.

This passage is a most extraordinary utterance, to come from the pen of an intelligent, scholarly writer, and at the same time most melancholy, causing utter hopelessness as to the probability of securing an unbiased consideration of these disputed points. Applying principles laid down by himself, which, as we have said, must command the approval of all, this learned Professor appeals to the Scriptures, carefully collects, weighs, and expounds every utterance in them which he regards as of importance as teaching "the true doctrine of the redemptive work of Christ," and bears his testimony that, "as far as God's *preceptive will* is concerned, the atonement is universal." Few evangelical Arminians could produce a statement of the doctrine more concise, exact, and full; none would object to it. It covers the whole ground. It annihilates the Augustinian theory of a limited atonement, which "makes absolutely certain the salvation" of every one for whom it was made. This is not the statement of the Professor's own theory, but of what he is honestly compelled to believe that the Scriptures teach. But alas for the closing sentence! would that it had not been penned! It is the fly in the ointment destroying the aroma, and betraying by its unsavoriness the presence of a mind that can scarcely be regarded as "unprejudiced by theories." Does the author know the "decretive will" of God? Can he claim to be an exception to the statement, "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God?" Is he so conversant with that "decretive will" of God as to dare to suggest, as this closing sentence does, that that "decretive will" is in opposition to the "preceptive will" of God? That God wills one thing, and in the most solemn manner and in manifold methods teaches man that he wills another? Verily, if this be so, the Professor is in truth a successor of John Calvin in teaching that God, when earnestly expostulating with sinners and urging them to do what he knows they are utterly unable to do, and *what he will*

not enable them to do, is something worse than simply "humbugging" them. (*Deum esse duplicem.*)

On the condition of infants there is a wide difference between these two systems. The "turning-point" necessitates this. It is not easy to see how any person taking the New Testament for his guide could be induced to believe in the possibility of an infant being damned. The words of the Master are clear, "of such is the kingdom of God." Yet many of the followers of Augustine taught this dreadful doctrine. On this point the logical strength of the system breaks down, and few are willing to press their premises to their legitimate conclusion. The great theologian himself was specially inconsistent here. He lost sight of election, and made baptism the deciding element. He taught that all unbaptized children would be damned. Hence we read, "*Parvulos non baptizatos in damnatione omnium lenissima futuros.*" He lays it down as Christian doctrine, "*Peccatum originale pœnam non tantum damni sed et sensus, et quidem ignis æterni, manere.*" He must have had a terrible view of the more severe forms of future punishment when this was "the least severe." Many of the Reformers adopted this view from him, and diligently taught it. It found its way into many of their "Confessions." In Article ix of the Augsburg Confession we read: "*Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant Baptismum puerorum, et affirmant pueros sine Baptismo salvos fieri.*" In the Westminster Confession, x, 3, we read: "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth." This seems very guarded language. Some, accepting this Confession, have maintained that all infants dying in infancy are elect, and that their dying in infancy is *ipso facto* a proof of their election. In that case it would be very desirable to have an authoritative settlement of the exact period at which infancy terminates. The language of the Confession, however, clearly precludes this interpretation. "Elect infants dying in infancy," implies the idea of non-elect infants dying in infancy. Otherwise the word "elect" is not merely redundant, but misleading. Moreover, we must remember that the views of Augustine were not merely well known when the Confession was framed, but evidently exerted a controlling influence on the teaching of that document.

Hence the fair interpretation of the words is, that there are reprobate infants who die in infancy. Calvin stated the case clearly when, on the general question of election and reprobation, he said:

> Many indeed, as if they wished to avert odium from God, admit election in such a way as to deny that any one is reprobated. *But this is puerile and absurd, because election itself could not exist without being opposed to reprobation.* Whom God passes by he therefore reprobates; and from no other reason than his determination to exclude them from the inheritance which he predestines for his children.

This is the inevitable result of applying "the turning-point" of Dr. Hodge. The reasoning of Calvin is as forcible when applied to "elect infants" as it is when the word "infants" is omitted. This was undoubtedly the teaching of the school for years. It is by no means an easy matter to see how they could have avoided holding that idea with their conception of original sin. They regarded that as involving guilt, "personal blame, and, of course, as exposing its possessor to punishment, even eternal punishment, so that the mere infant, hurried out of life the moment after it had entered upon life, before it had done good or evil, or even possessed the power of distinguishing the one from the other, might be justly consigned over to everlasting torment as the punishment of such sinful bias." †

Augustine and the Lutherans teach that all infants dying in infancy who are baptized, are saved. In this they agree with the Romish Church, which teaches, "Nothing can seem more necessary than that the faithful be taught that this law of baptism is prescribed by our Lord to all men, insomuch that they, unless they be regenerated unto God through the grace of baptism, are begotten by their parents to everlasting misery and destruction, whether their parents be believers or unbelievers."

* Institutes, book iii, chap. xxiii.

† "The Doctrine of Original Sin," by George Payne, LL.D. Second edition. London: Jackson & Walford, 1854. The Lecturer adds: "I join my friend, and a former Congregational Lecturer, the Rev. Joseph Gilbert, in thinking that 'the man who can really believe this must be wholly perverted in judgment, and can have no symmetrical connection of moral ideas.' There is nothing, as it appears to me, in divine revelation—nothing in the scriptural doctrine of original sin—to sanction such monstrous statements. And I am anxious that evangelical truth should be divested of accompaniments which mar its beauty and obstruct its progress."—Page 152.

The evangelical Arminian occupies a totally different ground. He believes in the universal effect of Adam's sin as firmly as any Augustinian can do. But he also believes the Bible statement that "Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man." Hence as the influence of the second Adam is more mighty than that of the first, he looks on *every* infant as redeemed, as one to whom the Saviour, who is "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever," feels just as he did when on earth. He believes that it is not his will that one of these little ones should perish. Naturally he holds tenaciously, because consistently, to the doctrine that *all* dying in infancy are saved, and regards it as a valuable argument in support of his system of theology, that this follows logically from the essential principles of his creed; while just in proportion as the advocates of the opposing system adopt this view, they are compelled to ignore the foundation principles of their creed, and violently strain the language of their most cherished formularies. The Rev. Richard Watson thus states the case:

> The great consideration which leads to a solution of the case of persons dying in infancy is found in Rom. v, 18: "Therefore, as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." In these words, the sin of Adam and the merits of Christ are pronounced to be co-extensive; the words applied to both are precisely the same, judgment came upon all men, the free gift came upon all men. If the whole human race be meant in the former clause, the whole human race is meant in the latter also; and it follows that as all are injured by the offense of Adam, so all are benefited by the obedience of Christ. Whatever, therefore, that benefit may be, all children dying in infancy must partake of it, or there would be a large portion of the human race upon whom the "free gift," the effects of "the righteousness of one," did not come, which is contrary to the apostle's words.

Calvin himself clearly taught that baptism was not essential to salvation. Departing from Augustine he connects the salvation of infants with the covenant, and seems to intimate that *all* the infants of Christian parents shall be saved. Modern Augustinians have departed still more widely from their founder. Dr. Hodge teaches, "All who die in infancy are saved." "It is, therefore, the general belief of Protestants, contrary to the doctrine of Romanists and Romanizers, that all who die in

infancy are saved." * The whole paragraph is worth reading. It seems inexplicable how any man could write it and still hold the doctrine of a limited atonement. On this remark of Dr. Hodge, Professor Schaff observes: "This may be true of the present generation, and we hope it is, though it is evidently inapplicable to the period of scholastic orthodoxy, both Lutheran and Calvinistic."

Dr. Hodge further says:

> We are sorry to see that Dr. Krauth labors to prove that the Westminster Confession teaches that only a part, or some of those who die in infancy, are saved; this he does by putting his own construction on the language of that Confession. We can only say that we never saw a Calvinist theologian who held that doctrine.†

Most readers will think that the Confession, not Dr. Krauth, is at fault.

This statement of Dr. Hodge is worthy of notice. His eminent position brought him into contact with the leading minds of the Calvinist party for many years. Such a testimony is an impressive illustration of what we have written above as to the great boon conferred by Methodism on the Church catholic, in restoring the theology of the New Testament.

On the question of man's ability to do the will of God the systems are equally widely separated. Augustinianism teaches that "as the result of original sin all are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. This is the condition of all by nature. The benefits of redemption, including the saving influences of the Spirit, as distinguished from "common grace" which cannot lead to salvation, are confined to the "elect." "The rest of mankind are passed by." For not one of these was atonement made; as that atonement was absolutely necessary to their salvation, not one of them, at any moment in his life, was placed in a position in which his salvation was possible. To not one of them was there the outgoing of God's love in giving his Son to die for them. All these, "although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operation of the Spirit," are utterly unable to come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved. Evangelical

* "Systematic Theology," vol. i, p. 26. † *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 605.

Arminianism teaches that the atonement places salvation within the reach of every man, while it forces it upon none. That it secures for every soul, and especially for every one to whom the Gospel is preached, the accompanying influence of the Holy Spirit, by virtue of which he receives the power to repent and believe the Gospel to the saving of his soul, so that none shall ever perish because preordained thereto by God, or for lack of power to comply with the conditions of salvation, but solely on account of his own willful resistance to and refusal of the grace of God.

Augustinianism teaches that "This corruption of nature during this life doth remain in those that are regenerated," and is "properly sin;" and again, every sin, original and actual, brings guilt upon the sinner and exposes him to the wrath of God and the fearful punishment of sin.

Evangelical Arminianism maintains that Jesus "saves his people *from* their sins;" that if "we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" that it is the privilege of those who accept the Gospel to appropriate by faith the exceeding great and precious promises contained in that Gospel, and "having these promises, to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." These doctrines, scriptural in their substance and heart-renewing in their power, constitute the peculiar strength and beauty of that glorious deposit of truth which the Methodism of the present day has received from the Fathers. Their responsibility is great. It becomes them to "hold fast the form of sound words" which they have received. There are many temptations to substitute for these doctrines more palatable to the unregenerate; to suppress some of them, and dilute others to suit the worldly spirit of the age. It is a dangerous experiment. Tempting as some new doctrines may seem, they are a poor substitute for these well-tested truths of the inspired word. We need them not. The old wine is better. These truths, when preached in the demonstration of the Spirit, commend themselves to the conscience and win the soul to Christ. When embraced with the faith of the heart they thoroughly transform the believer, so that he becomes "a new creature in Christ Jesus." Methodism needs no revision of her creed.

Art. II.—THE GREAT PHYSICIAN'S ANODYNE.

AN EXEGESIS OF JOHN XIV, 1-10.

[1] Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. [2] In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you. [3] And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will receive you unto myself; that where I am there ye may be also. [4] And whither I go, ye know the way. [5] Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; how know we the way? [6] Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father, but by me. [7] If ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also: from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. [8] Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. [9] Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou, Show us the Father? [10] Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I say unto you I speak not from myself: but the Father abiding in me doeth his works.—(*Revised Version.*)

Our dying Saviour's valedictory to his apostles at the final supper unfolded both the darkness and glory of their destiny in most impressive terms. Compare it with a similar discourse of Socrates with his pupils, as given by Plato, and we see the immense inferiority of a philosopher's wisest utterances attained by the human intellect to the supreme mastery of "the Son" over the mysteries of the unseen. He had foretold the apparent ruin of all the hopes of the apostles; dismay was deep in their hearts and dark on their faces; and then he unfolds the rich consolations which their trust in his divinity affords them. It beautifully commences with a soothing sentence of assurance to their ears: "Let not your heart be troubled." He points to the demonstration of the certainty of his assurances from his being trustworthy, not on account of his profound wisdom as a philosopher, but from his authentication by the Father, as divine. Let us trace this view in the present passage.

Verse 1. Why is "heart" in the singular, and not plural? We may imagine three solutions: 1. It may be a mere verbal accident without significance. And this seems to be the view of the great body of commentators, inasmuch as none of them seem to have noticed the fact. 2. It may have designated the collective *hearts* of the apostles as *one;* and so it would symbolize their profound Christian unity. Or, 3. It may be an individualizing word, symbolizing that each apostle—nay, each dis-

ciple of Christ in every age—may lay claim to the consolation as belonging to *him*. We prefer this last interpretation. The breadth of the basis which our Lord lays under his then present apostles is expansive enough to furnish standing ground for us all. Each one of us may claim a share in it as addressed to *his own* "heart," and say, I will not be "troubled," as there is an eternal *mansion* of glory reserved on immovable foundations for *me*.

And next, how could the evangelist make Jesus forbid their "heart" to "be troubled," when he tells us (chap. xiii, 21) that the "spirit" of Jesus himself was "troubled?" My answer would be, that the apostles' *trouble* was a factitious, baseless, and self-interested (I will not say *selfish*) trouble. Their trouble was, lest their visionary earthly kingdom should be dissipated to thin air: his trouble arose as the awful image of the traitor's sin and crime loomed into near view. Such a trouble in the "spirit" of Jesus is the feeling of the divine Spirit himself, and so was a divine trouble. The question thirdly arises, Is the first "believe" of the two here indicative or imperative? And on this question the most eminent commentators of the Church are arrayed on opposite sides. The imperative rendering makes Jesus enjoin belief in God and himself alike. The indicative makes faith in God a basal reason for faith in Christ, for Christ is authenticated by God as his Son. And that this latter was the Lord's real meaning we are convinced by the words of the ninth and subsequent verses. In the person of Jesus there was a visible indwelling God that identified him; and so if they, as disciples of Moses, believed in Jehovah, they were bound to "believe" when they thus saw the present Jehovah incarnate. As, on an infinitesimal scale, the insect of ages ago is seen in the transparent amber, so on an infinite scale the divine (as divine in the minutest spot as in the whole universe) is seen visibly enshrined in the transparent person of Jesus. And being thus divinely authenticated as divine Son, as Son he will tell them of the glorious "house" of his divine "Father," and of his and their inheritance therein as in the not distant future. Glory, and not ruin, lies in their immediate onward pathway.

Verse 2. With a beautiful abruptness the Son, the Saviour, applies the heavenly anodyne for all their nervous excitement. He at once strikes *home*—"my Father's house." There also are

a "place" and a glory for which all these alarming events are but the necessary preparation and condition. And this "house" is a roomy edifice. God's "house" may indeed be the universe, in whose immensity he dwells, perfectly filling its whole. But here his "house" is the more limited, yet most expansive, heavenly realm, the "kingdom of glory," in which all the holy beings of the world have their home. And that this is a most expansive "house" we may easily understand if we conceive the kingdom of glory to exist in the immensity that surrounds the whole starry system as the ocean surrounds an islet. God compasses the whole astronomic system of creation as immensity does. When we say that heaven is *up* and that God is *up*, that word *up* points to beyond the stars. And as our earth is a globe, so those *ups*, like so many radii, shoot from the earth's center in every direction, and pronounce that the kingdom of glory, like God himself, surrounds the starry creation as a concave envelope. But as God not only pervades immensity, but also pervades to the center of starry space and to the center of *each particular star*, so also does the kingdom of glory. Not indeed in its fullness and literal occupancy. But we may believe that the inhabitants of the kingdom of glory can pervade by their voluntary presence all the secrecies of the starry domain. Gabriel in heaven shot from that high abode to our earth in very brief time. (Dan. ix, 23.) We talk of even our railroads and telegraphs as *annihilating space*. Yet with how much more than a telegraphic rapidity could a glorified spirit ascend from earth to heaven—borne, perhaps, like Lazarus, by angels!

Heaven, therefore, though not literally "close around us," is virtually nigh us. It is nigh us inasmuch as in the passage from one to the other the element of time nearly drops out, and the visitors from the supernal may move in throngs around us. Nor must we imagine that the kingdom of glory is a narrow margin around our starry system. As a definite realm, even a "house," we may suppose it organic in structure, and so need not identify it with all immensity of space. This concave envelope may have its outside as well as its inside boundary. Outside, through immensity, is the limitless God, and what else we know not. Only know we that inside is the material creation. "Many mansions" are many apartments in the roomy

"house," for the various classes of occupants, as thrones, principalities and powers, angels and archangels, seraphs and saints.

Heaven is ever in perfect order. So this same John in the Apocalypse beheld a roomy house so vast as to be a palace, a capital, and even a nation.* It had its twelve gates for the orderly twelve tribes of the celestial Canaan to enter. The temple, as God's "house," represents the same truth. Its various courts were for the priests, for the men, the women, and even the Gentiles. But here, as we shall soon see, a new court is about to be *prepared* and opened, namely, for those redeemed by the sacrifice now about to be accomplished; for those, that is, of whom the twelve were the harbingers. And so St. Paul (or as it is fashionable nowadays to say, "the author of the book of Hebrews") tells us (Heb. ix, 23, 24) that "the heavenly things themselves are purified" by that sacrifice, when that sacrifice is actually completed, for those who come after that completion.† And that completion is just now to take place.

"Mansions," or *staying-places*, sometimes implies stations of a journey. And this might be interpreted to imply *progress*, advancement in heaven itself. And this progress is not contradicted by the permanence of their abode in heaven; for heaven for them may have an immensity of range.

When now our Lord in a sort of under-tone affirms that "if it were not so" he "would have told" them, it seems as if he discerned on some countenances a skeptical shade of expression, as soon vocalized by Thomas and Philip. He therefore here condescends to asseverate. He bases himself on what they know to be his superhuman probity, and asserts what he knows they know, namely, that if a fatal overthrow of all their hopes is at hand, he, who had foretold so many fearful futurities as near, would not have concealed even that. Said a dying yet thoughtful worldling, "There is a great comfort in believing that there was something more than human in Jesus of Nazareth." And confessing so much he must accept as true what that "more than human" one says of himself. And if he asserts the divine to be within him, then, especially if also the works of divinity are done by him, he must be believed. And this is the process of the argument of Jesus here. He

* Whedon's Com., Rev. xxi, 16. † See Whedon's Com., *in loco.*

first appeals to their perfect confidence in his perfect probity, and then appeals to his "words" and "works" (verses 11, 12) as the conclusive confirmation of his uttered claims.

In this mansion "house" he is going to prepare a "place for" them. We render the repeated "I go" and "I come" of this discourse with a participle, *I am going* and *I am coming*, as expressive of continuity. (See verses 3, 23, 28.) This final "place" is not yet prepared "for" them. The "place" is locally in the region of the third heaven, where God resides. A space (for a "place" must be real space) is to be set apart and consecrated for the future occupation of the saints of the resurrection. This is made secure and revealed by the resurrection of Christ. The Old Testament or pre-crucifixion saints in paradise, pure bodiless spirits, were then for the first time assured by divine demonstration that they would ascend from paradise to the higher glory in glorified bodily completion.

It was to proclaim this news, as well, perhaps, as for other purposes, that our Lord in his disembodied state entered this paradise, the so-called intermediate state between death and the final resurrection. And so this consecration of "a place" for the New Testament saints, the saints of the Messiah's resurrection, shed a new glory upon paradise, and "prepared" that locality as part of the "place" too. For heaven and paradise are partly distinct and partly identical. Paradise is, as it were, a portico; not the "house," and yet of the "house." The term heaven is extensible to paradise, but not so properly is the term paradise applied to heaven. Paradise is distinctively temporary. It will lose itself in heaven after the final resurrection, as hades merges into hell. (Rev. xx, 14.) And only once (Rev. ii, 7) is the word paradise applied to the whole heaven *after* this merging and identification. The preparation therefore extends to the entire of our great future unseen. When it is popularly said of a departed saint, "He has gone to heaven," or by a self-consoling parent that he "has a child in heaven," we use perfectly allowable language. But that truly all saints at death ascend at once to the highest heaven, and that all sinners descend at once to hell (Gehenna), is unsound theology.*

Verse 3. This departure is condition precedent to a happy return. "If I" am going—as sure as I depart in sorrow and

*See Whedon's Com. on 2 Cor. xii, 1–4; Eph. ii, 2, and iv, 10.

ignominy—I will make return in joy and glory. And when is this coming "again" to be? Some commentators say, at the final resurrection. But we must not add with Meyer, that our Lord's words imply the idea that the final resurrection was close at hand. But that the *coming* here is not (like *parousia*) limited to the second advent is clear from its repeated use in this discourse in the sense of Christ's presence in the Spirit, and especially so by this same John in Rev. ii, 20. Other commentators refer it to the coming of Christ to the dying Christian. And as it is then that the taking of the human spirit to paradise occurs, this seems necessarily to be its initial fulfillment. Our English version obscures this fact by its neglect of accuracy in rendering the Greek tenses. The revisers have correctly rendered the Greek; but we word it thus: I am coming to you, and *will* take you to myself. This taking "you to myself" is then specific and generic. Specifically it is begun by the taking the spirit at death to paradise; generically it is completed by the resurrectional receiving of the reunited body and spirit to the highest heaven. Dear to the Christian heart is the thought that Jesus is present in spirit at his dying bed. Yet the more realistic view is, that like Lazarus the sainted spirit is conveyed by angels. And so in Charles Wesley's beautiful hymn he is bidden to

> "Go, by angel guards attended,
> To the arms of Jesus go."

And the reception of that spirit by the corporeal Jesus into the paradisiac or lower heaven is expressed with equal beauty:

> "Waiting to receive thy spirit,
> Lo, the Saviour stands above,
> Shows the purchase of his merit,
> Reaches out the crown of love."

But when we consider the myriad numbers of ascending saints we shall doubtless conclude that "the arms of Jesus" in the above lines, like "Abraham's bosom," is imagery. And so "his breast" in those other beautiful lines:

> "While on *his breast* I lean my head,
> And breathe my life out sweetly there."

To the dying Christian a present Christ says, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." And he will in paradise find

Christ's pervading presence, not only spiritually but bodily. The throne of Christ at God's right hand is indeed in the transcendent heaven, yet is he effectively present through the whole, inclusive of paradise, as our President is present in all our America. To this beholding of Jesus by the eye of that glorified spirit, distance is no difficulty. Nor does the pure spirit need words, made of atmosphere, to exchange the pure thought with other minds. Nor does any barrier exclude Christ from perpetual visitations and extended residences there. For here, as in the highest heavens, the presence of this "myself" is the true bliss and glory of these blessed ones; less here than there, but in both the fullest glory of which the spirits disembodied and re-embodied are capable recipients. Christ is the sun amidst his stars, without whom they are darkness and iceberg. And reciprocally their salvation and glorification were the joy that was set before him, for which he endured the cross.

But it is said (Matt. xxv, 30), *the kingdom is prepared for you from before the foundation of the world.* How comes it, then, that here the *place* is not to be *prepared* for them until after the crucifixion? Our reply would be, that the kingdom of glory is prepared for all the holy beings, including redeemed man, from before the foundation of the world. But the "place" in that *kingdom* is not prepared for the post-crucifixion saints, and not fully prepared for any saints, until after crucifixion. The kingdom is the "house," and that is eternal; the "place" of the redeemed is to be in the "house," and not to be completely prepared until the sacrifice that purchases it is finished. So this "house" of God, like the temple, was of old; but the new court for the new class of occupants was now first to be *prepared.*

Verses 4, 5. The "whither" of this departure, and its "way," they knew, because Jesus had told them. The "whither" was "to the Father" in the transcendent heavens; "the way" was through the death of the cross. And now in Thomas's positive-negative interruption the doubter seems to be a prompt denier. And in point of space and distance his denial is true. By what route through space Jesus will go, to where of the heavens Jesus will arrive, he knows not. Yet very probably he exaggerates his ignorance in order to draw out from Jesus a fuller unfolding of the future. He truly desires an account of the route and the goal.

And here is a basal faith in Jesus. He does "believe" that Jesus truly knows, if he pleases to reveal.

Verses 6, 7. Jesus refuses to be turned from his track of thought, requiring the whole "believe in me" of verse 1. He will not be drawn from the rich spirituality of the matter into a barren directory. He embodies the whole matter in his concrete *self*. Christ is Christianity. Accept a whole Christ, and you have a full salvation. Ask you the "way?" His crucified body is "the way." The "truth?" His all-wise Spirit. The "life?" His life, the life of your life everlasting. Settle all this, and the topography may come in as a lesser afterthought. "To the Father," the transcendent goal, by literal ascent, or "to the Father," by spiritual approach, he is the sole "way." Even the redeemed who never heard of Christ are redeemed by him. And *through*, not "by," is the literal Greek. *Through* this living bridge, spanning the chasm, do we pass to the Father. "From henceforth" means not (as many commentators) from the time of the crucifixion, or the time of this momentous converse. "From henceforth" means "from" the time of truly seeing Jesus as he is.* The true sight of God commences with the true sight of Christ.

Verses 8–10. Thomas's doubt seemed to cover the things of the unseen realities, but Philip's doubt at first sight seems to be the doubt of the atheist, who says: "I will believe in God when I see God." But it is not of God's existence that Thomas doubts, but of God as the authenticator of Christ as God. Yet Philip doubtless knew that the things seen by the spirit's eye, the eye of our highest intelligence, are far more sure than those seen by the fleshly eye. The fleshly eye, for instance, sees a machine which is truly constructed according to geometrical laws. The spirit's eye sees the laws themselves. The former, the machine, is transitory; the latter, the laws, are eternal. And yet Philip forgot this when he asked for a fleshly sight of "the Father." He may, as Meyer supposes, have asked for a theophany such as Moses beheld (Exod. xxiv, 10), or, we may add, such as John saw in vision (Rev. iv). If so, he asked for the temporary, rejecting the permanent. "So long time with you" expresses not pathos (Meyer) but rebuke. It was a guilty superficiality which could see "so long" the divine in

* See Whedon's Com., Rev. xiv, 13.

Jesus, and self-avowed by Jesus, without becoming permanently stereotyped with the impression that God was with him. The spirit's eye that has even once seen this Son hath seen the Father too. "I am in the Father," as the flower is in the bud, to be unfolded in power and beauty to the spirit's eye. "The Father in me," as the divine fire was in Moses's burning bush. "The words that I say unto you I speak not from myself," as the words from the bush were not spoken by the bush as his organ. They were the words of Jehovah authenticating the bush. Doeth "his works," as well as uttereth "the words." And if my "works" attest myself as superhuman, and so infallibly trustworthy, so my "words" attest me by direct declaration as divine. As, therefore, "ye believe in God," so do you "believe in me," authenticated by God. And when I utter words of assurance and consolation, "believe;" and, believing, "let not your heart be troubled."

Art. III.—MIGRATION OF LANGUAGE.

HOW OUR ENGLISH CAME FROM ASIA TO DENMARK.

What is here proposed to be done may be illustrated by what has been done in the case of the gypsies and their speech. Miklosich, a scholar of Vienna, has traced by their vocabulary their line of march from India to Europe; and that with the aid of scarcely a single historic clew. The basis of their speech he finds to be the Hindu, a shoot of the Sanskrit, introduced even in the Vedas as the language of the *vulgus*, like the Low Latin of Cicero's day—the *battare* for *pugnare*, *ballare* for *saltare*, *gerula* for *puella*. Persian elements indicate a sojourn in the reaches south of the Caspian, and Armenian words show a slow movement through the lands below the Black Sea. That they entered Europe through a Greek-speaking country, their last residence before their dispersion, is also fairly proven.

In geology, we trace lines of movement by way-side scatterings dropped from the traveling mass; in philology we trace those lines by gatherings picked up and carried on to the place of final deposit. In this way we may search for the path, often

faintly marked, now lost, and now re-appearing, by which the oldest tongue in the group of our ancestral kindred made its way from the primal Asian home to the low-lying margin of the North Sea, the region of Holland and Jutland, and of Schleswig-Holstein.

There could not well be, within the temperate zone, a wider contrast than that between the land from which those wanderers departed and that to which they came. They left mountain gorges where the traveler northward climbs passes higher than Mont Blanc, on his way to "the Roof of the World;" where from grassy, treeless plains, beneath dry, bright skies, the streams run swiftly to far-off southern bays, and where the Oxus, "majestic river, floated on" to "emerge and shine upon the Aral Sea." They came to a dull, flat shore, where "the lazy Scheldt" creeps through its sediment of mud, a land of gloomy rain, of raw and restless wind and harsh voiced surge, where those ancestors of ours began their great career in the West amid marshes, fogs, and forests. Slowly and loiteringly they made their way from one home to the other. They spent centuries where now a traveler, even a tourist, needs to spend but days.

Satisfying proof is found that back of the closely related languages now prevailing in north-western Europe was one, the mother-tongue of many people now kindred, once identical. It was used by all our then undivided branch of the great family of energetic, overmastering peoples whose languages are called Indo-European, or, by an easier term, Aryan. This mother-tongue, sister of the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin, is named the Teutonic. This word Teutonic (Thiudisc, then Teutisch, then Deutsch—Dutch) means popular, public, national. As is well known, it is now employed to designate the people whom the Romans taught us to call Germans, while the general term "Dutch" we properly limit to a small nation on the narrow delta of the Rhine.

Before it entered Europe, this Teutonic had begun to divide into branches, the Gothic, the Norse, the Low German, and the High German. Of these the Gothic was long thought to be not a co-ordinate branch, but a real trunk from which the others had sprung, and it was so thought because in forms and processes it was nearer than any other in agreement with the primitive

Aryan speech. It was, too, the first of its family to have and hold an abiding place in the literature of the world.

In the library of the University of Upsala, in Sweden, is the Silver Manuscript, the most valuable literary treasure that Scandinavia (Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the western hive of the Gothic race) possesses. It contains the four gospels in the Gothic tongue. The noble characters are illuminated in silver upon a purple ground, and at the beginning of each section a few words are blazoned in gold instead of silver. At the bottom of each page is an imposing arrangement of a gallery on arches with Corinthian columns, between which are references, as in the margins of our Bibles, enabling the reader to find the parallel passage of the different gospels. The whole is in solid silver binding, and it well bears the name of CODEX ARGENTEUS. It was made at Ravenna, in Italy, a hundred years after the death of the great bishop who made the translation, whose labor, learning, and piety it brings vividly to remembrance. A Swedish general of the great Gustavus Adolphus found it at Prague nearly three hundred years ago. After so many centuries of unknown adventure it has a fitting and honorable rest among its natural guardians, the kinsmen of its author. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan, about the year 1820, some strange discoveries were made. Three manuscripts in Latin were found to be *palimpsests*, that is, twice written, the first writing erased to give place to the second. In these the erasure was imperfect, and a careful tracing by Count Castiglione proved the first writing to have been this same Gothic Scripture. He rescued much, and the rescued fragments have proved of great philological value. From such sources we have what we have of the language actually spoken by Alaric and his long-haired warriors as they stood at the gates of Rome to receive its ransom, and in which the gallant barbarian forbade his men to touch, in warfare, either women or church properties. With words like these he ordered the turning of the river Busento until his own burial might be had in its channel, lest in some reverse of following times his mighty bones might be found and make a Roman holiday. Under Theodoric the Great the Gothic power in the South reached its highest point; it then vanished like frost-work in the sun, and left of itself no record in speech of its own using. To Roman ears the Gothic was harsh jargon,

such as they could not bring themselves to hear or speak or write. There is a scrap of poetry left us by some unknown author who had been dining with Goths:

> "Inter HAILS Goticum SKAPJAM jam MATJA ja DRIGGKAM
> Non audet quisquam dignos educere versus."
>
> "At a banquet of Goths, with their skapjam and matja and drinkam,
> Dares one try to set words in a rhythm and a harmony tuneful?"

Only these four words, framed in thus for ridicule, does Latin literature retain from the speech of the men who faced Cæsar on the Rhine and Trajan on the Danube, and who at length glutted their ire upon the Eternal City herself. In these bantering lines we have four plain English words, *hail*, *shape*, *meat*, *drink*. These were as Choctaw to the Latin poet, but they tell us a convivial story. At some "hail" (wassail, was-hail, "what cheer?" that is, a feast) the guest had found boisterous mirth and hearty indulgence, while the servants "shaped" ample "meat" and "drink."

It is to one man that we owe all that we have of the stately and beautiful language of these bold invaders of Italy. The remnant we have from him is not large, but as the residue of those Sibylline books, after the larger number had been burned, still contained the destiny of Rome, so this survival gives us, for philological uses, the Gothic language. To him we owe it that we see this rising up like a patriarch out of the past, and identifying its own laws and lineaments in its successors.

In the Bibliotheque Royale at Paris is a quarto manuscript, on the fine white parchment of which are written in Latin some polemical treatises relating to the Arian controversy of the fourth century. Around its border are what had always passed for unimportant scribblings by the half-preoccupied copyist. In 1840, Waiz, a German scholar, was told that the word *Gothi* occurred in these marginals. He went to work and found in these neglected wastes a Life of Ulfilas, the only known Gothic scholar and author, and the morning-star of the literature of our Teutonic tongues and peoples. It was the work of Auxentius, his ardent friend and reverent pupil.

We do well to make account of the career of this remarkable man. His name, Ulfilas, would now be Wolfson. He was born in Dacia (now Hungary) in 311 A. D., the year of the last

persecution of Christians. His ancestors had been carried away by the Goths in their progress through Asia Minor some generations before this time, but Ulfilas was fully assimilated to the captors of his ancestors, and had become a Goth in tongue, heart, and habit. In his youth great events occurred. Constantine put the cross upon his standard the year after Ulfilas was born; and when the lad was twelve years old, became the first Christian sovereign of the Roman world. The future bishop was still in a rude hut above the Danube—among the young barbarians of his times—when the Council of Nice first formulated the Christian doctrines and the emperor dedicated the great city that bears his name to the Divine Glory.

The northern border of the empire was always restless, so tempting were the fertile southern slopes to the Goths, whose rude energy was in turn exercised by obscure peoples to the north and east of them. Alaric, the Gothic king, failing in some fitful border struggle with the Romans, was obliged to send to Constantinople hostages for his future keeping of the peace. Among these were his own son and Ulfilas, already at twenty-one conspicuous for promising qualities of mind and body that might serve well among his people.

Ulfilas thus came to the metropolis, and there, with, as it would seem, occasional visits to his kinsmen beyond the river, he was resident for ten successive years. During this period he made himself an effective master of Greek. What still more shaped his course, inspiring, too, his zeal for learning, was that he became a convert to Christianity. His conversion was something more than a languid acquiescence. He was at once aflame with missionary zeal; he longed for the saving of his kindred according to the flesh. His first churchly duty was in serving as reader. He took charge of the sacred volumes, and unrolling them at divine service, he read to the congregation lessons from the gospels, and from the epistles of St. Paul. Of these he was not silent on his visits to his home in the North. Out of the abundance of a full heart his mouth would speak.

Now came, in the progress of these duties, the hour appointed to call him to his task. The great thought, like the rising of the dawn, flushed over all his mind: "Why not write into words the sounds of my home-born Gothic speech and put into the words the sense of these sacred rolls?"

It was an undertaking beyond the range of an ordinary mind. Nothing of the sort had been done in Europe since the dim legendary day of Cadmus. The missionaries, who have in our century done so much of this work, could say how hard it is (as was found in the Sandwich Islands) to arrest the vocal utterances of one people and symbolize them in the alphabet of another. In our century Sequoyah, a Cherokee, with whom had lodged some seed of genius that nature had cast upon the wandering wind, created for his people an alphabet representing the eighty-six sounds of which the language is composed. As soon as a Cherokee boy has learned this alphabet he can read, and boys have done this in a single day. Each character stands for a syllable. Ulfilas had from his knowledge of Greek a clear advantage over the unlettered (for such he literally was) Cherokee. He had also the lively inspiration of evangelical motives, while Sequoyah had only the irrepressible spirit of invention. Still, to the Goth came this double task, that after he had mastery of the vocal habits of his people—had made a scientific capture of the sounds and had framed them into words—the work of translation remained to be done. From all this Ulfilas never shrank, and to him belongs the abiding honor of making an alphabet (partly by creating, partly by adapting) and giving his brave barbarians the Scriptures in the tongue to which they were born. His work seemed in a literary way an enlargement of Pentecost, and his zeal and genius, taking the place of the Gift of Tongues, made an era in Church progress.

Of the following life of this true saint some brief note may here be properly made. Contemporary history tells us how "at thirty he took in hand the aforesaid nation of the Goths." For seven years he labored among them north of the Danube. Bitter persecution of himself and his converts arose from his own countrymen, and, "after the glorious martyrdom of many," he was allowed by the Emperor Constantius to bring his suffering but steadfast flock south of the river to a peaceful home among the Balkan Mountains. For this the emperor called Ulfilas "the Moses of his day." If, as tradition runs, Moses not only led the exodus, but had previously invented the alphabet, then the imperial compliment was doubly merited. This persecution is attributed to a "judge who, like Gideon in Israel, ruled

the Gothic world," perhaps the mighty, half-shadowy Hermanric, whose domain at his death (at the age of one hundred and ten) touched both the Black Sea and the Baltic. Ulfilas's people were now called the Lesser Goths.

He labored among these thirty-three years longer, carrying on also his literary work, of which his translation of the Bible was not the whole, amid controversy, persecution, and even exile. The disciple was as his Lord. He never shrank through suffering from his toil to reform the behavior as well as to enlighten the understandings of his countrymen. Gambling and drunkenness were the besetting sins of the Goths, (one might add, "unto this day!") not easily laid aside by the converts even when they had taken Jehovah in place of Wuotan (Odin), and were looking to an eternity in the Zion of life and peace, and not in the Walhalla of revelry and carnage. In doctrine he held with the Arians, that "there was a time when the Son was not." Such, however, had been the sweetness of his zeal and the faithfulness of his toil, that when he died in the beginning of A. D. 381 at Constantinople, in attendance on the second General Council, devout men of all views reverently waited upon his funeral rites, mourning the bereavement of the Church and glorifying God in him.

Great men and great events marked the fourth century. It was the age of Diocletian and Constantine, of Ambrose and Jerome, of the founding of Constantinople and of the building of the Church (now Mosque) of St. Sophia; of making the Roman empire Christian, and of fixing the formulas of Church doctrine. But we look through it in vain for a nobler man than Ulfilas, or a greater work of love for the mortal millions than he achieved in his fifty years of toil. Soon after his death the Christian Goths at the Eastern Metropolis had become so many that Chrysostom, the bishop, provided for them there a church with service in their own language, and this, which Ulfilas had made possible, was his monument upon the ground where he had been converted.

And what is the Gothic of Ulfilas? It is the widest dialect of that Low German group from which our English is a lineal development, in which it was in his day enveloped. That Gothic was for a while supposed to be the primitive, parental Teutonic, because it alone of the Teutonic family could be

traced to the fourth century. Ulfilas belonged to the Visigoths, or Western Goths, but his translation was intelligible to all the Gothic tribes, and was used by them as they advanced into Spain and Italy, and under the name of Lombards, Vandals, and the like, built states out of the fragments of the Roman Empire. Indeed, in the days of Justinian, when the Eternal City was five times taken and retaken, one might have thought the Goths were to have permanent dominion in the West. Nor might that have been a misfortune to mankind. Theodoric, who about a hundred years after the death of Ulfilas led his Goths from the Danube and planted them as masters in Italy, was as brave and wise and good as any who have ever ruled in that fair land. He was a hero, coming from a race of kings. In his love of learning and of the arts he closely resembled the great scholar of his race. Following Ulfilas in his Arian views, he was still, as a sovereign, generous to the Catholics, and under him the Bishop of Rome assumed the venerable name of Pope. He died in broken penitence, for faults which he upon false testimony had been led to commit, and his tomb, built by his daughter near Ravenna, commemorates the best and noblest ruler of Italy from the beginning until this day. Ulfilas and Theodoric, thus issuing from the same region in successive centuries, show the possibilities of their race, and insure it an honorable fame.

The Gothic kingdoms were crushed in following times by the collisions of the three giant powers soon dominating the world, the Eastern Empire, the Saracens, and the Franks. The Scriptures in their tongue served them well for five hundred years, the distance between Wiclif's Bible and our own day. In the ninth century Ulfilas's Bible, and his Goths, vanish in mist and darkness.

The workman founded his Gothic alphabet on the Greek. Thus "gg" sounds as *ng*. "Gaggats in haim," *go into the village*. He uses two letters which we could well use in English, one for the sound of *th* in *this*, the other for the sound of *th* in *thin*—two valuable sounds of which our language has almost the monopoly. It needed patience, toil, and genius to catch the "harsh, whistling, grunting northern guttural" and aspirates and diphthongs, and present them to the eye in these symbols, and then to teach the secret of these symbols to his

blue-eyed, bright-haired pupils, who should proceed to teach in their turn other blondes also.

The word-forms of the Gothic are full and stately. Thus *had*, the past of *have*, is:

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	
habaida,	habaidedum.	I have—did, etc.
habaides,	habaidedutli.	
habaida,	habaidedun.	

The likeness of this Gothic to our English is not hard to see. Take John vi, 60: "Hardu ist thata waurda; whas mag this hausjan?" Here remember how even inside of English *s* and *r* interchange (vulgar "dass not" for *dare not*), and we recognize "hausjan" as *hear: Hard is that word; what* (*man*) *may it hear?* The Lord's Prayer in Gothic begins: "Atta unsar thu in himinam, Veihnam namō thein." Here "Atta," *Father*, is our word *Daddy*, a term deserving more reverence than it gets, and is very tenacious of life on its plebeian level. The Sanskrit "pri," *to love*, and "pi," *to hate*, changing their initial by uniform law, occur in Gothic, and their participles "frijands" and "fijonds" give us *friend* and *fiend*. The Sanskrit "maha," Greek "μέγαλ," is in Gothic, "micils," and in Scotch-English *mickle* or *meickle*. "Ni ogs thus, Mariam!" *Not fear thou, Mary!* shows the source of *ogre*, a thing of terror. The Saxon of the Scotch Lowlands has kept many Gothic words. "He gangeth to his bairns" is almost equally Scotch and Gothic; so the north of England was peopled from the Goths of Scandinavia. "Sah hliftus ist," *he is a thief*, shows in "hliftus" the origin of *shop-lifting*, thieving from a sales-room. "Swiltan," *to die*, is our *wilt;* "sprauto," *quickly*, gives our *spry*. The Greek "δακρυ" is in Gothic "tagr," English, *tear*. Here, as in many other cases, is a valuable link in the chain of our etymologies, arresting, just before it vanished, the element that identifies the ancient word with the modern, as well as two apparently unlike modern words with each other. Thus *tear* and the French "larme" have only *ar* in common, yet, tracing one through the Gothic and the other through the Latin, we find them coinciding in the Sanskrit "dagru." *By and by*, of our Authorized Version, is in Ulfilas "suns," *soon*. From these specimens, which might be far more copiously given, we see the relation of the Gothic to our

English. If we call the speech of Alfred a thousand years ago old English, we may fairly call that of Ulfilas fifteen hundred years ago an older English. It is not the oldest, the original Teutonic with which our far ancestors left their Asian home. That "by the way-side fell and perished." The Gothic is the nearest to that that we can ever hope to find. It brings us where we can see how from one fountain flowed divergent streams of language, and how from one of these streams, as from an irrigating canal, branched off our own. In fact, we have in the Gothic the English of the fourth century.

In this well-nigh primal English the gospel of Matt. v, 41, runs as follows: "Jah jabai hvas thuk ananâuthâi rasta âina, gaggais mith imma tvos"—*And if who thee on-compel rest one, go with him two.* Here all are English words: "Jabai" is *gif*, if; "nauthai" is *need: Yes if who* (*any*) *on-need thee.* "Rest" (σταθμός) equals *mile*, reckoned by resting-place. The only peculiarities are in the active sense of *need* and the indefinite sense of *who* (*si quis*).

Can we learn any thing of the probable history of this English before Ulfilas? Does the study of language open any rift in the cloud that settles over the entrance of the Teutons into Europe?

The word "Asia" may itself serve as a clew to possibilities which, even if they cannot be turned to shapes of historic certainty, do at least give our ideas a broad and reasonable exercise. "Asi" is from the root "as," *to be*, a root of wide and well-known occurrence. This word "Asi" serves as a curious connective between the Teutonic and the other Aryan religions. It means *those who are the Beings;* that is, the gods. In the northern mythology these Asi (Æsir) came in with Odin (Wuotan) from the East. The uniform traditions are that they came from "Asen-land," and "Asia" is the Land of the Asi or gods, the Holy Land. The first definite place of the Asi is Asgaard (ward, precinct, garden of Asi) a metropolis near the river Don, in south-eastern Europe. This Asgaard seems to have been for ages a center for the race and the most sacred shrine of its worship. Pausanias says that there was at Colchis, east of the Black Sea, a temple of Minerva, Asia. Another name for this goddess in Aristophanes is "Asana,"

that is, the Sanskrit, "Ahanâ," Greek "Athenæ," *The Dawn*, a name arising from some confusion of the poet's ideas. All this indicates the worship of the Asi to have arisen before the dispersion of our linguistic family.

This legend of Asgaard goes to fix a long sojourn of Teutons north and east of the Black Sea. Such sojourn is made more probable by geographical terms found in the region. "Cauc-as (us)" is *the holy mountain*, *mountain of a god*, which serves to explain its appearance in the Greek legend of Prometheus. "Ph-as (is)" and "Az-oph" are *sacred waters*, a river and a sea ("pha" is traceable in Sanskrit) which latter retains its name to this day.

According to the best of the light gathered from the misty by-gone, it was Berich who first led the worshipers of the Asi westward from these Black Sea regions. They made their way to Scandinavia and the Baltic, pressing the Celts down upon Italy. Branches from their stock, identifiable by their large stature, blue eyes, and flaxen hair, made their homes along the Rhine and became the "Germani," *the Spearmen*, of Cæsar and Tacitus. Filimer, the fifth in descent from Berich, went back from Scandinavia to reconquer from the Scythians the land from which his ancestors had come westward, "the remote region fringing the Black Sea." Into this Teutonic range Darius, five centuries before our era, may have penetrated.

We next come to the migration of Odin, Woden, or Wuotan. By this name is known the deity common to all the Teutonic races, the god of loud-sounding fury in war, the keeper of ways bounds, the inventor of letters (the characters called Runes), and the ancestor of all its kings. Wednesday, Woden's Day, perpetuates his name in modern times.

In all legends and at every turn of events we seem to meet some development of this universal personage. To him is assigned the second movement from the region of the Crimea to Scandinavia, by which the pivot of the race was definitely fixed in north-western Europe. His return to the land which Berich had won and Filimer abandoned is usually reckoned near the Christian era, but among events so shadowy dating must be done with a generous margin.

We saw how in the days of Ulfilas the Goths were stretching

from the Black Sea to the Baltic along the north of the Danube. In 863 Eric the Red founded the empire of Russia, giving it thus a Gothic origin, and to-day Asgaard, the first Teutonic home in Europe, as well as a part of the primitive Aryan seat in Central Asia, belongs to the race that held them in the dim, gray dawn of history.

So it has come to pass in the process of the ages that Odin's prophecy has come true, as it is given in the Icelandic "Heymskringlia," *the Chronicle*, of Snorro Sturleson: "Odin, having foreknowledge and magic sight, knew that his posterity would come to settle and dwell in the northern half of the world." This prophecy is said to have been uttered "when the Roman chiefs were going wide around the world, subduing to themselves all people."

It is on the whole as clear as any thing can be, in the dimness of half-history, that our Teutonic race spent ages and generations in the Caucasus, "near Asgaard, the capital of the country east of the Tanais." (Sturleson.) The soil of the Crimea, which English blood has in our own century moistened so freely, was long, long ago mingled with the dust of the English soldiers' ancestors. The forms and features of the tribes now living in the Caucasus go to confirm this view. In striking contrast with the races that surround them, they retain in purity and beauty the Teutonic type that illustrates their kinship with the north-western nations. Indeed, these, their kindred, have degenerated, and we find in the old home a physical perfection surpassing not only that found among the other branches of the Teutonic race, but even any other in the wider family of mankind. If they have lost the flaxen of their hair, it is just what Niebuhr affirms with surprise as taking place under his own eye in Germany within this century of ours, and with no assignable cause. The speech of the Caucasus is not now Teutonic, but the case is in this respect like that of France, where the Latin has been brought in upon a people known to be Celtic, giving not merely tint, but ground-work, to their speech, and the Frankish conquerors giving up their own vocabulary, and even their grammar, for this Celt-tinted Latin.

In the Crimea proper the resemblance of language confirms what that of physical appearance suggests. The "Tartars" of the Crimea (not to be confounded with Turks or Moguls) use

words, of which a long list might be given, almost identical with the words of Ulfilas or of our modern English.

Thus we have out of many the following, which tell for real relationship:

CRIMEAN.	GOTHIC.	ENGLISH.
Hus,	Hus,	House.
Reghen,	Rign,	Rain.
Silvir,	Silvihr,	Silver.
Stul,	Stols,	Stool.
Sune,	Sunno,	Sun.
Lachen,	Hlagan,	Laugh.
Handa,	Handus,	Hand.

There is also a coincidence interesting, though not serving as evidence between these Crimeans and the Saxons, in their fondness for the horse. The horses of the Don (Tanais) have ancient fame. The Saxons came to England under the sacred banner of the white horse; their leaders were by tradition Hengist (stallion) and Horsa, and horseflesh was eaten at their religious festivals. A noble horse gives to Englishman and Crimean alike "a touch of nature" enough to make them kin.

As the Gothic is before us, and while we are yet looking it dissolves and vanishes. Then from a lost member of its family, a Low German, so called from the region where we find its progeny (not the Low German of a later day), issue two related forms of speech. One, the Frisic, was probably that of the Frisii of Tacitus, living east of the mouth of the Rhine, where now is West Friesland. The other, the Saxon, we know by its two descendants, the old Saxon and the Anglo-Saxon. This old Saxon was spoken in the territory south of the Frisic, between the Rhine and the Elbe, in Hanover, Brandenburg, and as far as to the foot of the Hartz Mountains. We have historical proof of it in an important record, a Christian poem, "Heliand," *Healer, the Saviour.* This is extant in two manuscripts, now more than a thousand years old, and makes the language well known to us. Its forms do not greatly differ from those of the Anglo-Saxon, but in pronunciation it was very different, and the vowel system was much simpler. Of the High German we take our leave on leaving the parent Gothic, as our line runs along the Low German. On this line we find the modern Dutch directly descended from the old Saxon, and among all the European tongues of to-day it is nearest of kin to our English.

If in the fifth or sixth century one had journeyed from the

Alps to the North Cape he would almost every day have caught some new form of Teutonic speech. The old High German was on the upper Rhine; the old Saxon, the Frisic, the dialects of the Angles and the Jutes, he would have heard as he passed along. The Norse languages, the Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic, "*ab uno discite omnes.*" All these were of one great family, with a sisterly likeness and unlikeness. He who knew one would hardly have needed an interpreter among the others. Of alphabetical writing he would have seen little or none.

"Rona," *secret*, a Gothic word, gives the name Runic to a system of signs, practically an alphabet, of sixteen characters, devised among the Gothic races in north-western Europe. The date of their invention is past finding out, but they are not to be confounded with the Druidic symbols. Their full name is "Run-stafas," *mystery characters.*

The Runes have a stiffness and simplicity of shape such as is easy to carve, and when in the sixth century the Roman letters came to be used, these were still cut upon tombstones, sword-hilts, and the like.

A Runic carving on a rock by a lake in Sweden was declared by the great Berzelius to be breakings and erosions of the stone, but it was afterward translated. A Danish pirate cut upon a marble lion in Athens a Runic record of his visit, and it may now be seen in Venice. From their use by these sea-rovers the Runes at length came to be regarded as symbols of heathen violence and barbarism, and then of sorcery and magic. All Christianized people discarded them, for the Roman characters came in with Christianity and seemed a part of it. The word "Rune" came to mean in English *whisper.* It was also used of the chirping and chattering of birds, as being to human ear mysterious and unintelligible. It means, too, *private conversation*, and even Ulfilas says, "runa nemun," *they took counsel.* Its last appearance in English seems to be in a participial form, *whispering, rounding*, for *whispering round.* (Winter's Tale, Hammer's amendment.)

So came our English to the North Sea shore. From Schleswig, where a little district still wears the name, long since known around the world, it made its way, *per varios casus*, to England and to ourselves.

Art. IV.—LUTHER AS BIBLE TRANSLATOR.

[Adapted from the German: An Address delivered before the Evangelical Union by Prof. E. Riehm, D.D., of the University of Halle.]

Among the blessed gifts which, through Dr. Martin Luther, the grace of God bestowed upon the German people, the German Bible may be mentioned as the greatest and noblest. It has been asked, and with abundant reason, if among the blessings of the Reformation this one had been wanting, what would have become of the others? It is then most befitting that our people in this jubilee year, the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth, before every thing else should recall again to their minds what a great, imperishable treasure—a treasure which never grows old—they possess in the Bible of Luther. As one fleeting hour will not suffice to point out from all sides the great value of this treasure, I shall have to confine myself to some of the principal points. And as I can neither hope to illustrate my remarks sufficiently nor have the time to support them with citations, allow me, therefore, to call attention at the very beginning to a book which is not nearly as well known as it deserves to be—a book which no evangelical theologian should leave unread. I refer to the work of Dr. Georg Wilhelm Hopf: "The Value of Luther's Translation of the Bible as Compared with the Older and More Recent Translations." *

It would be contrary to Luther's spirit if we were to speak of his merits as Bible translator without at the same time mentioning his faithful co-workers. In January 13, 1522, he wrote from the Wartburg to Amsdorf: "It is a great work, worthy of our united labors, because it is for the common welfare." And again: "I will not touch the Old Testament unless you take a part and assist." He says, in his "Table-talk," † speaking of Jerome: "He would not have done amiss had he associated with himself in this work of translation one or two learned men, for the Holy Ghost would have manifested himself more powerfully according to the words of Christ: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I shall be in the

* "Würdigung der Lutherischen Bibelverdeutschung mit Rücksicht auf ältere und neuere Uebersetzungen." Von Dr. Georg Hopf, Nürnberg, 1847.

† Luther's Works, 57, 4.

midst of them.'" "Translators ought not to be alone, for proper expressions do not always occur to one man." In the preface to the Old Testament of 1523, he writes: "In short, though we all labored together, yet all of us had enough work on the Bible in order to bring it to light, one with the meaning of the text, another with the language to express it. I am not the only one who has worked upon it, but on the contrary, I have pressed into service all those I possibly could."

Melanchthon, above all, was his helper from the start. He revised Luther's work done at the Wartburg before passing it through the press. He, in his turn, enlisted the aid of sympathizing learned men, especially Joachim Camerarius and Georg Sturz, a physician of Erfurt, to aid in questions of archæology, such as that of coins and measures mentioned in the New Testament, as well as to assist Luther in giving a "finer finish" (ausfeilen) to his translation. It seems, however, that the haste with which he pushed on the work did not allow him sufficient time. At least, on the rendering of the Greek text, even when the Latin exactly corresponded with it, there was a great number of minor inaccuracies, of but little importance so far as the sense was concerned, which were not corrected until the thorough revision of the New Testament that appeared in a decidedly improved edition in 1530.* This was the joint work of Luther and Melanchthon; and the correction of the above-mentioned inaccuracies for the most part, according to all probability, must be placed to the credit of the latter. Not one of the canonical or apocryphal books of the Old Testament was published until the translation had been carefully examined by Magister Philippus. So necessary did the co-operation of his friend appear to Luther, that he suspended work upon the Prophets as long as Melanchthon, being absent at the second Diet of Spiers (1529), was hindered from helping him. It was a mistake of Chytræus to suppose that Luther did not translate the two books of Maccabees, but rather that it was the work of Melanchthon.† Luther, by means of correspondence, received counsel and direct assistance from Spalatin in the selection of

* See Bindseil u Niemeyer's Dr. M. Luther's Bibelnebersetzung nach der letzen Original ausgabe. Halle, 1845–1855.

† Compare H. Schott. Geschichte der deutscher Bibelnebersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers. Leipzig, 1835, p. 34f. 41.

some appropriate German expressions, such as the names of precious stones and animals.*

Besides Melanchthon, his principal assistants on the Old Testament were M. Aurogallus, who, upon Luther's recommendation, had been called as teacher of Hebrew to Wittenberg; and in translating the prophets, Caspar Cruciger, installed at Wittenberg in 1528.† These Hebraists afforded him much help by comparing the so-called Chaldee paraphrases and the rabbinical commentaries; for Luther's knowledge of these—as his "Enarrationes in Genesen" prove—was purely indirect, almost altogether borrowed from Nicholas de Lyra, but occasionally also from Jerome and St. Pagninus.‡ Finally, we learn from Matthesius that a thorough revision of the entire translation of the Bible, and especially of the Old Testament, was undertaken by a weekly conference styled by Luther "A Sanhedrin of the best people existing at that time." This work was commenced by Luther in 1539; the fruit of it came to light in 1541. Regular members of this conference were Melanchthon, Cruciger, Aurogallus, Bugenhagen (well versed in the Latin Bible), Justus Jonas, and Magister Georg Roerer, proofreader at the Lufft's printing establishment. Sometimes learned men from a distance took part in the deliberations, namely: Dr. Bernhard Ziegler, of Leipsic, and Dr. Johann Forster, whose opinion in regard to difficult passages was ever welcomed by Luther. But with whatever gratitude Luther may have recognized the co-operation of his friends, and however much he may have praised them to the world, he nevertheless had perfect right to say of his translation, "It is my Testament and my translation, and shall remain mine." All the creative work belonged to him; that of his coadjutors consisted only in assisting in embellishing (ausfeilen) and emending particular portions, and even these finishing strokes and emendations were overwhelmingly Luther's own work—a work to which he applied himself with restless zeal and conscientious carefulness during his whole life. His assistants regarded him at all times as the Bible translator whom God had called, and who alone was equal to the great task.

* Compare Schott, p. 34. 89 f. † *Ibid.*, 69, 88.

‡ Comp. Siegfried: Raschis Einfluss auf Nikolaus v. Lyra und Luther in der Auslegung der Genesis in Merx Archiv für wiss. Erforsch. des A. Ts., I, 428, ff.; II, 39, ff.

In order to appreciate fully this master-work of Luther, one must represent to himself the great task which had been undertaken. Whoever is acquainted, even in a limited degree, with the ideas prevalent in his time regarding the work of translation, must admire him as the gifted pioneer, having clear and certain apprehension of his duties. There was a German Bible before Luther's. The oldest known MS. of this is in Leipsic, and was written in 1343 by Matthias (Martin?) von Beheim, a monk of (our) Halle. Up to the year 1518 no less than fourteen different editions of this translation had been printed in the High German. It was a translation of the Vulgate, in which, without any clear apprehension of the genius either of the Latin or of the German language, the Latin text was imitated mechanically and with slavish literalness, and very often wholly misunderstood. If, then, the Vulgate did often render the original text, especially in the Old Testament, in poor and sometimes unintelligible Latin, we can easily see that in such a German translation the true sense of many words must, in numberless passages, have been completely concealed, and it is not difficult to understand why Matthesius calls the German Bible, which he had read in his youth, "un-German (undeutsch), vague, and obscure." The same lack of intelligence and taste meet us also in the contemporaneous translations of Sallust, Livy, Virgil, and Pliny: for example, *patres conscripti* is translated, "O ye written together fathers!"

That Luther did not undertake a translation of the Vulgate, but rather of the original text, is not singular, for in this he merely followed the intellectual current which was produced by the study of the "humanities." But his complete deliverance from the chains of ecclesiastical authority, as well as his great courage and his faith in God, were also necessary in order that he, as translator of the Bible, should follow this current, and be enabled to bid defiance to the numerous and violent accusations of his opponents, who claimed that he had forsaken "the approved old text of the Christian Church." Besides, there were whole mountains of difficulties to be scaled, arising from the low condition of philology and exegesis at the time; and again, one must not lose sight of the limited and inadequate helps at his command. He declares, and that repeatedly, how he and his helpers had to sweat (schwitzen) and trouble themselves,

especially in translating Job and the Prophets, and how very difficult the work became; sometimes the feeling came over him that he had undertaken too much in attempting to translate the Old Testament into German. If we would know how well, in spite of all hinderances, he succeeded in giving a correct rendering of the original text, as is clear on its face, we must take this advanced and enlightened age as our standard of comparison. The other translations of the Bible in that age, and especially the best one of them, the Latin Church Bible, must be taken as standards with which to compare Luther's. He had a perfect right to say, that though he could not boast of having accomplished all he wished, his German Bible in many places was clearer and more correct than the Latin. It is true, that in connection with the Septuagenta he made constant use of the Vulgate, with which he was perfectly familiar since his stay at Erfurt, as one of the chief helps in gaining a correct understanding of the original. His translation, especially in its first form, is for that reason quite dependent upon the Vulgate or Septuagenta in passages where these have misapprehended the original; and even when Luther differs from the Vulgate, he is led to this less by the original than by the incorrect Latin translation.* But even in the first editions it would be difficult to find that his dependence upon the Vulgate resulted in the expression of ideas foreign to the Bible. The only exception is Heb. viii, 16, and, perhaps, Tobit vi, 19–23, and viii, 4. But even in the first edition of Luther's New Testament, so numerous were the differences from the Vulgate — corrections based upon the original text—that his adversaries could not make too much ado about the matter.† His corrections of the Vulgate in the Old Testament, owing to his superior understanding of the original text, are far more numerous. The emendations contained in the later editions proved that Luther became less and less dependent upon the old translators, and that he continually advanced toward a more correct understanding of the original.‡

* For example, Gen. vi, 3, ff.; Isa. ii, 22: xxviii, 19.

† In Emser's New Testament we find 607 passages cited.

‡ Compare Matt. ix, 16; xxiii, 25; Mark ix, 40; Luke xvi, 22, in Bindseil's Kulischer Bibelausgabe.

Nevertheless, though so largely influenced by the Latin or Greek Bible, there are even in the final edition plenty of passages wherein the true meaning has been misunderstood; and it cannot be denied that in some places the old translations are better than Luther's. And passages are not wanting where his earlier translation was better than the later. His untiring effort, with which he was never satisfied, was always intent upon reproducing as faithfully as possible the sense of the original. His earnestness in this is further shown by the fact that he did not disdain to avail himself of the translations of those who had been spurred on in such work by his own example, even though they were men of so ill a repute as Hetza and Johann Denk. These two had anticipated him with a translation of the Prophets, published at Worms in 1527.* He even accepted instructions from his slanderous critics whenever he found any thing good and correct in them; though he nicknamed them, "Meister Klügling (Mr. Wiseacre) and päpstliche eselköpfe" (papal dunces). Upon reading Wicel's just criticism, he was induced to set aside false translations intended against the Papists.† He was influenced in some cases by the "bungler" ("Sudlers") Emser, and even misled, so as to exchange a better for a poorer translation, as in Phil. iii, 20; for, but "our citizenship is in heaven," of the first edition, is nearer the original than, "our manner of life [Wandel] is in heaven," of Emser—corresponding to the Vulgate, and since 1530 accepted by Luther. He also replaced "bessert euch" (do better), of the first edition, with the old ecclesiastical expression, "Thut Busze," which may mean *do penance*, but can be translated, *repent*. He also substituted the usual Latin terminations of proper names for the Greek ones found in the earlier editions. I cannot enter any further into the question of the relation of Luther's translation to the Hebrew text. But as a further proof of how earnestly he strove to ascertain the true sense of the original text, independent and regardless of tradition, I will only remark that he by no means relied simply upon the Masoretic points. He knew too well that Moses and the prophets did not

* Compare Schott, pp. 50, 54, 76. Hopf, p. 96, f.

† Compare the different editions on Jon. ii, 9; Hos. iv, 8; Jer. iv, 27; Isa. xl, 10; Hos. vii, 8. See also Schott, p. 140, and Hopf, pp. 108, ff., 273, ff.

write these points. He regarded them as the modern inventions of men (Menschenfündlein), and he suspected that the Jews in their hatred for Christ, occasionally by means of these additional points endeavored to conceal the true sense. Not seldom, and that in passages where his Christological views did not enter, he sought most diligently, without any regard for the *supra* and *infra scriptum* of the Rabbis, to ascertain the true sense of the Hebrew consonants; for example, Psa. cxviii, 12; Isa. ix, 5. He also examined most carefully the rabbinical expositions known to him, and wherever he differed from them he sought to justify his translation. Only in a very few isolated passages, where in spite of the utmost effort he was unable to arrive at the true meaning with any degree of certainty, or where the controversies of the learned regarding the sense of obscure words seemed to him, as far as religion and the faith were concerned, altogether meaningless, did he desist from further investigation. In some cases he freely confessed that he had been compelled to guess at the meaning, and declared that he would let the wranglers search for it until the day of judgment; but as for himself he would, in the meantime, continue to understand it as translated by him into German! *

True, one might say that though this masterpiece of Luther was, upon the whole, a far more faithful reproduction of the original text than the Latin Bible of that age, yet his translation, viewed from our present improved facilities for understanding the original as far as accuracy and fidelity are concerned, is now excelled. The Luther Bible, though a masterpiece, is yet the work of a particular period, and, like all human work, subject to change and needing correction. As an exact and accurate rendering of the original, Luther's translation is, beyond doubt, surpassed by many modern ones; nevertheless, many have exaggerated ideas in regard to the lack of agreement between it and the original. After having spent several weeks yearly, for nearly twenty years, in examining whatever may need correction in the translation of Luther, I really think that I ought to know something of the real extent of this lack of agreement. First of all, let us remember that

* Compare Psa. xvi, 2. Evl. Ausgabe 38, 136. Zech. iv, 12. Luther's Works, 42, 222, ff.

Luther understood how to make a distinction between translation and interpretation. This explains why many comments, corresponding to the state of exegesis in his time which we find in his expositions, exerted no influence upon his translation. Thus, let me assure you, the longer I study this matter the more I discover, not only in what high degree Luther had made the Holy Scriptures his own, both in their meaning and spirit, but also how familiar he had become with biblical modes of expression, and how he was thereby enabled with such marvelous certainty to come to a correct understanding of the original text. It is a matter of common experience to find that passages which, on superficial investigation appear to be in need of emendation, on closer inspection turn out to be an excellent German rendering of the real meaning. And quite apart from those passages regarding the true meaning of which the exegetes of our time disagree, but where Luther still has a following, there are also many cases wherein the agreement of our exegesis in rejecting his translation, when subjected to a thorough investigation, is more conventional than well-founded. Moreover, a great part of what needs to be emended, though in itself desirable in order to a more exact understanding of the text, yet in no way directly affects questions pertaining to faith and religion. And, finally, Luther, even in those places where his translation is decidedly incorrect, has often indeed given a sense transcending the meaning of the respective word—not considering, as it were, that revelation was progressive; but in so doing he has given us truths drawn from the Scripture itself as well as from the depths of Christian experience. In confirmation of all this, I venture to appeal to the testimony of my esteemed associates in the work of Bible revision. All of them, like myself, will certainly be of the conviction, that, as far as the correct rendering of the original is concerned, Luther's Bible is, and always will remain, a masterpiece; and that our task as revisers stands essentially in the same relation to him as did formerly the co-operation of his fellow-helpers. We are really his assistants.

The great value of Luther's Bible, and the difficulty of replacing it by means of a new translation in which the original text may be more exactly rendered, becomes very apparent

when we remember his happy faculty for expressing the true meaning after having gained a correct understanding of the original. From a circular letter directed to Wenceslaus Linck, of Nürnberg, and from his pamphlet, "Summarien ueber die Psalmen und Ursachen des Dolmetschens," 1533, we see that he kept clearly before his eyes the necessity of having a Bible for the German people (Volksbibel). That slavish imitation of Latin, Greek, or Hebrew constructions and modes of expression he criticises severely as the ridiculous nonsense of the literalists (Buchstabilisten). Says he: "In undertaking to speak through a translation I want to speak German, not Latin or Greek." And so also of a German translation of the Bible at this time, all intelligent men will demand, before every thing else, a faithful reproduction of the original, yet in such a way as to correspond to the syntax and style of the German language. But, according to our ideal of a good translation, the original text should be imitated as far as possible, even in the mode of expression, when that can be done with clearness and perspicuity, and without violence to the usages of the German language. How far this can take place depends principally upon the design of the translator and upon the readers for whom the translation is designed. Whoever undertakes to reproduce as fully as possible the peculiarities of the original, both in sense and form, so that the individual, no less than the national, impress is clearly seen, must, as far as possible, adapt his own language to that of the foreigner. He should also, as far as practicable, try to imitate the construction, the arrangement of words, the variations of speech, the tropes and figures. And what language is more adapted for this than our plastic German? But however valuable such a translation would be, only a cultivated circle of readers, who are already well versed in the more artistic styles of our language, would be able to appreciate and understand it. Luther's object was altogether different. His purpose was to give God's word to his own dear German people, great and small, educated and uneducated, in their own language—a language that they could understand. Every thing depended upon the true meaning. Thus his chief task was to express it as clearly and intelligibly as possible—the imitation of methods of expression must always yield to this. The practical and popular design of

Luther's translation restrained him from adopting Hebrew and Greek constructions even when the German would allow it. He knew well how to avoid every thing that might be foreign to the clearness and simplicity of speech used and understood by the common people. It is well known that he declared to Spalatin that he could not use words in vogue at castles and courts ("Hof-und Schlosswörter"); and how he wrote to Linck: "One must ask how does the mother speak at home, the children in the street, and the common people in the market, and translate accordingly; then they will understand it, and find that one speaks German with them." Again, he believed that "He who would speak German must not adopt Hebrew modes of expression, but see to it, if he understands the Hebrew, that then he should grasp the sense and afterward ask, How would a German express himself in this case? If he has found appropriate German words for conveying the idea, let the Hebrew words take care of themselves, and let him give freely the best translation possible." Conformably to this principle, he often set aside figures and tropes which were entirely too foreign to the German imagination. He replaced Hebrew and Greek expression, and sometimes, in the book of Proverbs and Jesus Sirach, entire proverbs with the more usual German ones; and where conciseness had rendered the text obscure and unintelligible, he employed circumlocution. In short, he every-where made full allowance for the style of the German popular language and for the intelligence of the common people. In his later editions he takes a greater liberty in methods of statement, though fully conscious of having done so to some extent from the beginning. This is eminently true of the Psalter, a book upon which he had devoted the greatest care. Here by far the greatest number of the later changes aim not so much at a more literal translation as at rendering the text more intelligible and in better German, as Luther explains in his epilogue to the Psalter of 1531. He says that his former edition was nearer the Hebrew and farther from the German, but the new one is nearer the German and farther from the Hebrew.* In a few instances, and only a very few, Luther has gone too far in his efforts to make a thoroughly German Bible; as for the rest, we must agree with

* Compare Schott, p. 67. Hopf, p. 117, f.

Goethe,* that this was the very thing which destined it to become the Bible of the people. None of us would exchange those free translations, where, after all, the real meaning is correctly expressed, with such as in their phraseology are much better imitations of the original text. Nor would any one, relying upon Luther's former translation of Psalm xxxiii, 4, write with Von Meyer and Stier, "His words are pure truth," instead of "Whatsoever He promises that will he certainly keep." Nor even in Psalm lxiii, 6, "Then would my soul become satisfied as if it were with fatness and oil [Feisten], and my mouth would praise with joyful lips," instead of "That would be the joy and delight of my heart, when I should praise thee with a joyful mouth." Nor of Psalm lxiii, 7, "When I remember thee upon my couch, so I think of thee for whole night-watches," instead of "When I lay myself to bed, I think of thee; when I awake, I speak of thee." Compare also the following (Psalm lxxiii, 25, 26): "Whom have I in heaven? and upon earth nothing pleases me when I am with thee. My flesh and my heart waste away. God is the safety of my heart and my portion forever," with a later translation: "Provided I have thee I do not ask for heaven and earth; and although my body and soul waste away, yet thou art always God, the comfort of my heart and my portion."

It would be a great mistake to think that Luther made no effort to copy after the modes of expression or construction of the original. It is exactly here he shows his great skill; for he succeeded marvelously in doing this and at the same time in writing good German. This is especially true of some expressions and phrases (Redewendungen). Whenever a word, a term, or a figure suffices for the full expression of the meaning of the religious feeling, or frame of mind, or the various character

* "That this excellent man (Luther) handed down a work composed in the most different styles, and gave us a poetical, historical, commanding, didactic tone in our mother tongue, as if all were cast in one mold, has done more to advance religion than if he had attempted to imitate in detail the peculiarities of the original. In vain has been the subsequent endeavor to make Job, the Psalms, and other lyrical books, capable of affording enjoyment in their poetical form. For the multitude upon whom the effect is to be produced a plain translation always remains the best. Those critical translations which vie with the original really only seem to amuse the learned among ourselves." — *Goethe's Autobiography*, part iii, book xi.

and circumstances of the inner life, then Luther adheres to the word. For he could not allow that even a particle of the meaning of the divine word should be lost. In a circular letter to Linck he says: "Yet, on the other hand, I have not allowed the letters to go too freely, but I, as well as my assistants, have always been very careful to retain even the very letter wherever that appeared of any consequence, and I should have preferred to let the German suffer, than to depart from the word." And in his treatise upon the causes of the translation, he says: "Sometimes we translated absolutely literal, although we might have done differently and better, because it was important to give the exact words." He cites as instances: John vi, 27, "Him hath God the Father *sealed*," where *designed* or *purposed* would have been better; also Psa. lxviii, 19, "Thou hast captured the captivity," where "Thou hast redeemed the captives or prisoners," although better German, yet does not express the fine rich sense of the Hebrew. He also incidentally justifies other expressions literally translated!* He further says: "We had to retain such words on doctrinal grounds and for the relief of our conscience, and we had to familiarize ourselves with them, and thus give place to the Hebrew wherever it does better than the German can possibly do." In the Psalter, where he has translated most freely, he boasts that he has weighed every word with the greatest care (auf der Goldwage gehalten), and then with the utmost diligence and faithfulness has translated it into German. Thus through Luther quite a number of Hebrew expressions have been introduced into the general, and still more into the ecclesiastical, language of Germany. Not only in isolated passages, where the sense demanded, did he conform to the original, but he also fully apprehended the work before him, and conformably to the prescribed object often imitated in a masterly way the mode of statement in the original. The richness of his religious experience, his keen perceptive faculty, his readiness to understand whatever moves the human heart, his clear sense of every thing great, beautiful, and holy, his natural eloquence, his acquired mastery over the German language, his high practical endowment, qualified him to reproduce the varied shades of meaning and the peculiar cast of biblical

* Compare Hopf., p. 255.

language in a fine, lucid, and often unexcelled manner. In a strain of ever-recurring changes, his language wonderfully conforms to the mode of statement as well as to the sense of the original. Now in the even tone of the narrator, or the more quiet language of instruction; now in that of emotion, alive with fire, or soaring aloft in the realm of poetry; now in brief, pithy, and terse sentences; and again with an easy, graceful fullness of diction. Take, for example, the lamentation of David for Jonathan, 2 Sam. i, what a fervent and touching expression of feeling do we find there! Take again the announcement of Jehovah's judgment day, Isa. ii, how shrill and piercing the words! How fully expressed is the anguish of that heart crying to God from the depth of sin, and how great the joy of him who hath found pardon! How full of consolation and assurance to the heart such words of mercy as: "Although a woman might forget her little child, yet I shall never forget thee!" And how happily has he rendered the beautiful language of the book of Job! Take, for example, the magnificent description of the battle-horse. It was indeed a well-deserved praise of Duke George of Anhalt, when he boasted that in Luther's Bible, "even David and the holy prophets spoke German as distinctly and intelligently as if they had been accustomed to it from the cradle up."

I must forego the pleasure of speaking at greater length of the simplicity and naturalness, of the power and animation, the richness and dignified beauty of diction in Luther's Bible; of the rhythm and euphony of its language, as well as of the constant care with which he continued to improve it in all particulars. Whoever would like to investigate this point more at length can do so by reading Hopf, pp. 263–293. Those who are well read in Luther's other writings will certainly admire the tact with which he avoided harsh terms in his translation of the Bible, yet even here he always calls every thing by its right name. One cannot help noticing the more refined language in the later editions.* Much could be said of the free thought and critical sense which he manifested, both in the arrangement of the New Testament Scriptures† and in

* Compare the following passages in the first and later editions: Luke xxiv, 14, 15; John i, 15; xi, 43; xii, 44, etc.

† Luther was inclined to accept as Pauline, "The letter to the Laodiceans;"

expunging of unauthentic passages, and sometimes also in the correction of textual errors according to his own conjecture. The same is true of the Old Testament and Apocrypha.*

Only a few more words concerning that which fitted Luther above all others to be a translator of the Bible for the Germans, and renders his Bible a jewel which cannot be replaced. Says he, "In order to translate well, one must have a very pious, faithful, diligent, fearful, Christian, instructed, experienced, and skillful heart."—(Herz.) What above all other things made him a master as Bible translator, was the fact that he more than all others was a hero of faith and of prayer, used to temptation and to victory in the hour of trial, living, as it were, in God's word. He was accustomed daily to find spiritual food in the Holy Bible, consolation in his troubles, counsel in the time of doubt, strength and courage in all his troubles. Almost every day, as Melanchthon testifies, he used to spend a portion of time in reciting psalms, and with them intermingle, with groaning and weeping, his own petitions as well as intercession for the universal Christian Church. He regarded the Bible, not as something that had been spoken in past ages, but as the living word of God spoken particularly to him and his contemporaries. Thus he reproduced out of his own heart, having as it were the tone and impress of holy life. The deep effect produced in his own (inner) life is every-where reflected in his translation. Though, as already mentioned, he knew well how to distinguish between translation and exposition or application, nevertheless throughout his translation he was always intent upon bringing the lasting, practical application as near as possible to the reader. He often, for example, changed the past tense into the present, applying as it were God's dealing with his ancient people to himself. Without doubt, the extraordinary success which his Bible had as soon as it appeared, and the impression which his translation, more than any other up to this day, has made upon every susceptible nature, must be attributed chiefly to the fact of its being the

although the ancient Church had rejected it, it was recognized by Gregory the Great, and often in MSS. of the Middle Ages it was found; also, in the Bible of Worms, 1529, that of Strasburg, 1530, and in some others.

* He was also inclined to recognize the Third and Fourth Books of Ezra and the Third of Maccabees.

fruit of faith and prayer; viewing it in this light we see how easy it is for us, as it was for Luther's contemporaries, to appropriate the written word.

But, certainly—and this should not be concealed—this great excellence of Luther's Bible has its reverse side. The impress of Luther's personality, and of the time when it originated, is stamped upon it in no small degree.

Let us notice a few things. If Luther did seek to obviate some false applications of the word, which were common in his time, it was simply to avoid expressions found in the old German translations, and which were used in justification of ecclesiastical abuses of the time and many pretensions of the clergy. For instance, to the great chagrin of his papal antagonists, he changed in the New Testament the word priest, derived from πρεσβύτερος, into elder; again, the *regere ecclesiam* of the Vulgate, and "die Kirche regreren" of the old German Bible into the more literal "die Gemeineweiden." The word *Kirche* (church), though often used in a good sense, yet owing to the idea which the people connected with it, he always replaced in the New Testament with Gemeinde (community or congregation), and in the Old Testament used it only when referring to heathen temples, or the irregular sanctuaries of the Israelites. Neither was he sparing of various polemical allusions which forced themselves upon him. It is not difficult to see what he is aiming at when he uses the word "Pfaffen" for heathen priests and soothsayers, when he makes the following rubric read: "Neither shall he make baldness upon his head" (Lev. xxi, 5); or when we read a description of the idolatrous priests in Baruch vi, 30: "And the priests sit in their temples in full copes, their beards shorn, and their heads shaved; then they sit with nothing upon their heads. They roar and cry before their gods."

The great intellectual and religious struggle of the Reformation against papal errors and superstitions exerted a more general influence upon the Bible of Luther than any one of the things above mentioned. One feels while reading the Psalms, especially the prayers against enemies and persecutors, that he is carried into the very struggle, occupying the same ground as our great and heroic leader, pouring out his soul before God. "Thou wilt never agree with the iniquitous throne,

which interprets the law wickedly" (Psa. xciv, 20), as well as many other such passages in the Psalms, as they open before us the hearts of the saints under the old dispensation, show also more clearly, if possible, where the heart of our German hero, full of faith, fled for refuge in danger and trouble of all kinds. Luther very often—no less than eleven times in the Psalms—when the original text refers to vain or deceitful language, to false doctrine or false teachers, uses the word "*lehren*" (to teach) instead of "*reden*" (speak).* The cardinal evangelical doctrine, the *sola fide*, which the Reformation was to bring to light again, found a permanent place throughout the Bible of Luther. He often finds reason against placing any value upon external, devotional works; the inventions of men, and especially justification by works; and likewise reasons for justification by faith, and salvation through grace, not only in passages where they really exist, but also, as Emser upbraids him, often in places where the original has no reference to one or the other. The words, "to preach, preacher, and sermon," favorite expressions of Luther, and so often employed by him, show very clearly what value he attached to the sermon, which he considered the most important part of the service. Emser and Wicel reproached him repeatedly for that; but their reproach could not lead him astray, and he even changed his original translation, "to call upon the name of the Lord" (Gen. iv, 26), and many like passages, into "to preach of the name of the Lord." The Catholics, in course of time, became more reconciled to the expression, and were convinced that Luther's translation of Isa. xl, 6: "A voice says preach, and he spoke, What shall I preach?" is better than that of Eck, reproduced from the Vulgate: "The voice of the one speaking exclaimed, What shall I exclaim?" Thus we now find "preach" and "to preach" adopted by the Catholic translators.

Should one try to lay aside this element of Luther's individuality and personality, and those things flavoring of the age in which he lived? I reply, in places this would be advisable, especially where these are a hinderance to the correct understanding of the connection or introduce matters entirely too foreign into the text. Generally, however, these must be regarded as characteristics rather than deficiencies of the Luther

* See Schroeder's Psalmen, in revidiertem Text. Halle, 1876.

Bible. They often serve to reproduce the real power and life of the original word into the translation. In the Psalms, for example, many prayers, expressions of sorrow or of faith, have an historical basis, namely, the condition of the psalmists as compared with that of their enemies. These are of practical value only when the application is brought home to the German people, and when these things are spiritualized and referred to the arch-enemies of genuine religion and true Christianity in our day; that is, to popish superstition and frivolous skepticism, as long as we have the Romish Church, with its justification by works, to contend with on the one hand, and unbelief and religious indifference on the other. The fact that Luther's Bible gives us this indirect testimony of God's word against them in a clearer light must be regarded as a perpetual excellence, as it still gives the German people the sword of the Spirit, well prepared for the fight against their arch-enemies. The impress of Luther's age and personality is most intimately connected with the chief excellency of his Bible, namely, the fact that in it the word of God is reproduced, full of life, in the spirit of faith and prayer; and the measure of that, by which, in consequence of this reproduction, the imperishable and life-giving energy of the divine word is brought to the human heart is so overwhelming, as to make it impossible for the above spoken peculiarities ever to reduce it into the significance of a great monument to a past ecclesiastical development. Let us, then, regard Luther's translation as that through which the mercy of God has given the word of life for all time to the German people; and with Prince George of Anhalt say, that it is "by special grace and gift of the Holy Ghost," or with Marheinicke, that it was "not brought forth without the living energy of the very same divine Spirit which pervaded its original manuscript."

Of course, Luther's Bible can never obtain the same significance in our Church as the Vulgate has in the Catholic. The accusation of the Papists, that it is regarded by the Lutheran Church as the authentic text, has been refuted most energetically from the beginning, and emphasis has been laid upon the duty as well as the privilege of falling back upon the original text. It certainly needs no false glory. Its immeasurable and blessed importance for the religious and ecclesiastical life

has been fully ascertained, down the centuries, from the days when it first satisfied the hunger of the German people for the Gospel, and, as Cochläus laments, it made even cobblers and ignorant women defenders of the evangelical truth against priests and monks, yes, against masters and doctors. It is well known that De Wette, in his private and family devotions, used Luther's translation and not his own. Other modern theologians have given substantial testimony of their high appreciation of this translation, and their preference of it to all others. We ought to give special prominence to another point. Luther's Bible, in a great measure, may be regarded as a bond uniting the Protestant Churches of Germany, and from time to time of other countries also. Wherever Luther's teachings went, they were followed by his Bible; and where its language was not understood it was translated into the dialect or tongue of the country. Thus, even during Luther's life time, it was rendered not only into Plattdeutsch, but also into Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and Icelandic.

It is also of much interest to know that its circulation in the Reformed Churches is continually growing. Luther's Bible, from the beginning, was used not only in the German Reformed Church and in Bâle, but also that the principal part of the Zurich Bible was nothing more than a translation of Luther's, with few changes, into the Swiss dialect: the prophetic and poetical books of the Old Testament and also the Apocrypha were, however, the independent work of the Zurich "Predikanten." But this Zurich version was exclusively used only in a very few cantons, which were dependent upon Zurich; in most of them Luther's Bible was used along with this; while in quite a number it was used to the exclusion of the Zurich Bible. The circulation of the Zurich Bible so often and, as one must recognize, so carefully revised, continued to decrease as time rolled on; while the unrevised Bible of Luther continually gained in favor. This is a fact which demands the most earnest consideration of all those who are over-zealous for Bible revisions. Again, the effort of some to make the literal translation of Piscator of Herborn the official Bible of the Bernese Church had only temporary success, for it was soon entirely displaced by that of Luther.

Just as the rupture between the Lutheran and Reformed

Churches could not prevent the circulation of Luther's Bible in the latter, even so impossible it was for the Catholic Church to avoid its influence. Not only the Protestants, *but the Catholics as well, have reasons to be grateful for Luther as Bible translator.* It is known that the New Testament of the "very learned" (hochgelehrten) Emser, which Duke George of Saxony introduced into his country instead of Luther's heretical Testament, was, aside from few changes based upon the Vulgate, nothing more than a reproduction of Luther's translation. Justice requires us to remark, that Emser, in his Conclusion, does not attempt to conceal the fact of having used Luther's Testament, at the same time he is very careful not to mention Luther's name, speaking only of the "New Translation." Luther, however, had good reasons for saying: "This is indeed enough for me, and I am glad that my work, as Saint Paul also boasts, is helped on even by my enemies, and that Luther's book without Luther's name is read as the work of his enemies. What better vengeance could I have?" Eck's translation is certainly by far a more independent work, though the German is wretched. It is a servile literal translation, like the pre-Lutheran German Bible, and very closely adhering to the Vulgate. Yet in spite of all that, there are many sections in Eck's translation which, with trifling changes, were evidently reproduced from Luther's. The later Catholic translations of Allioli, Ess, Lück, and others have followed Luther, even in many places where he differed from the Vulgate. They have even set aside some references to regulations of the Catholic Church, for example, the reference to the confession in Psa. c, 4, and, further, they have accepted Luther's text in several passages that had been most severely criticized by Wicel and Eck.* Thus the *approved Catholic* translations of the Bible now in use are to a very great degree dependent upon Luther's, though the source of these corrections has been concealed most carefully.

When we consider the national significance of Luther's Bible, the obligation of our Catholic people to be thankful for Luther as Bible-translator becomes more and more apparent. This is very clearly seen and easily established when reviewed in relation to the German language. Luther, as is well known, has been recognized by our greatest philologists as the real

* 1 Hopf, pp. 145–172.

creator of the New High German written language. True, our language, from the time of Ulfilas's great masterwork, had become more and more adapted as a medium for the expression of biblical truth.* But in Luther's time it had fallen entirely into disuse. The formation of words had become clumsy and harsh, forms were rendered discordant by the great number of consonants, foreign constructions had crept in, and thus the construction had become awkward and unwieldy, and, indeed, unintelligible. And how could it be otherwise, since Latin was the language of the Church, as well as of the educated generally? The German language, owing to this mechanical dependence of our people upon the Latin, and at the same time, of their barbarous ignorance of its real nature, had become very corrupt, and most of all in the literature of the German Church. Intelligent men saw the danger, and above all others, Luther himself. After having finished the translation of the five Books of Moses, he said: "I see now that I have not yet learned my native German language up to this time. I have neither read a book nor even a letter in which correct German was found. No one tries to speak German correctly." Johann Agricola makes a similar complaint: "Nobody, or at any rate very few, can speak German." Besides, in the time of Luther, there was a marked difference in dialects; thus German people separated by short distances could not understand the language of one another. The emperors from the 14th century, especially Charles IV. (1327–78), Frederick III. (1440–93), and Maximilian I. (1493–1519), had, indeed, commenced the formation of one united German language for the empire. This language had been accepted by many courts, free cities, courts of justice, and universities, and especially by the electors of Saxony. This, and not the Misnian dialect—as is often erroneously believed—was the one which Luther made the basis for the language of his Bible. He did this in order that both Upper and Lower Germany might understand it. This could only serve as a basis, because it could furnish only a relatively small supply of words and expressions for the Bible of the German people. The superstructure was created by Luther. He gathered the material in a most careful manner, partly from German books (of which up to the year 1520 more than a

* Comp. Hopf, p. 2 ff.

thousand had been printed) and partly from the lips of the people. With his fine philological taste, he formed from such material a more correct and euphonious language; and though no friend of new forms, yet he himself has enriched our language with many expressions which are happily formed and full of meaning. As a Bible translator, he was the pioneer in simplifying the construction of sentences. This recasting of the German language cost him immense trouble and hard work. We learn, from his own words, that he and his assistants often spent two, three, and four weeks trying to find an expression for translating a single word, and sometimes then did not succeed. He also complains of how the prophets—Isaiah, for stance—had stubbornly striven against speaking in the clumsy German tongue. Neither did he succeed in accomplishing every thing at first. So he was untiring in his efforts to improve the German in his later editions.*

His carefulness did not cease with construction and selection of more appropriate expression, but extended even to orthography. His first editions of the New Testament still show a very irregular orthography, rendered quite ungainly by the overabundance of consonants. Perhaps some of these mistakes may be set to the account of the type-setters and proof-readers. Luther, however, after 1530, constantly supplied the orthography, and rendered it more uniform and regular† And how well has he succeeded in his translation of the Bible to bring the German language in all its beauty and richness to a degree of development which may be regarded as a model! His great care in the correct use of German, and purity of language, is more apparent in his Bible than in any of his other works. One can easily comprehend why his contemporary and admirer, Erasmus Alber, calls him "a genuine German Cicero," and "boasts that from the beginning of the world no man has ever spoken or written German better than Luther."‡ The fact that the first popish critics of his translation speak of "Luther's German," gives a conclusive proof of his creative powers in the realm of language. They not only recognized his German as "eloquent and euphonious," but also showed their appreciation in a more palpable way, inasmuch as they have continued to appropriate

* Comp. Hopf, p. 112. † *Ibid.*, 315, ff.

‡ Comp. W. Grimm, "Kurzgefasste Geschichte," u. s. w., § 305.

it more and more. In 1530 Luther could write: "It is not difficult to see that they learn to speak and write German from my translation; thus they steal my language also, of which they used to be so ignorant; they do not thank me for it, but on the other hand prefer to use it against me. I do not begrudge them, for I am pacified when I reflect that I have taught even my ungrateful pupils, even my enemies, to speak German." It is also known that J. Grimm designates the New High German as "the Protestant Dialect," whose freedom-breathing nature, long ago, overpowered the poets and writers of the Catholic, though they were not cognizant of it. As time went on this Protestant dialect, the language of Luther, went out in an ever-widening circle, subduing the different German dialects; at first Upper Germany, where the dialectic declensions of few words and forms soon became unnecessary; then in Lower Germany, for which the last Platt-deutsch Bible was printed in 1621; and finally in Switzerland, where the Zurich Bible was changed into German in 1667. True, many different factors have contributed to the development and ever growing diffusion of the New High German; but beyond controversy, Luther's Bible was by far the most important factor in giving one language to all the German tribes.* No other book has exerted as great an influence upon the further development of the written High German language as Luther's Bible, whose language served as a model to many of our best authors.† It served to purify it from many foreign words which had been introduced during the 16th and 17th centuries, and to rejuvenize it during the period of our German classical writers. And even to-day Luther's Bible serves in various ways to suggest corrections in language and orthography. Besides, Luther's Bible, above all other books, continues to exert an ennobling influence upon the language of the common people of Germany. Says Radlof: ‡ "Wherever Luther's Bible was or is read, the language of the lower classes is every-where more intelligible, accurate, and noble."

* Comp. Th. Mundt in Hopf, p. 305. † Comp. Hopf, p. 226, f. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

Art. V.—METHODIST CHURCH POLITY.

Methodist polity, in some of its features, is common to all divisions of the general body, but this paper treats especially of that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is the further purpose of this paper to mention only salient points, with brief and practical elucidation, rather than to present an extended historical review or philosophical analysis and criticism.

The word polity, from the Greek πολιτεία, in its application to nations or states, stands for civil government. In its application to Churches, it denotes their principles and practices of government in theory and administration.

Methodism, doctrinally (of the Wesleyan type), and that which in this country is most largely represented and most successfully propagated by its episcopal branches, has been the same from the beginning. From the organization of our societies, in accordance with Mr. Wesley's methods, the standards of faith, the things accounted fundamental and immutable in Christian belief, without which no organization can claim to be part of the Holy Catholic Church, as well as the things which all along have given to Methodist preaching and teaching a recognized distinctiveness, have not changed. The dogmatic faith of the fathers is the faith of the Church to-day. No new doctrines have been introduced, nor have any of the old been abandoned or essentially modified. And the Church is effectually protected for all time to come against doctrinal novelties by the first restrictive rule of its constitution.

But the case is quite different with our polity. That has been a growth, its expansion proceeding gradually with our denominational progress, and, as we believe, under providential supervision. As in England, so in America, Mr. Wesley's word was originally law. Whatever government there was came from him; it is hardly too much to say he maintained for some years an autocratic headship. The rules that were the law for the early Societies he gave and directed to be enforced. These were few and simple, chiefly confined to methods for securing moral discipline among the members, and for promoting the work of religion among the neglected populations to which his preachers were sent. And yet, almost from the

start, they embodied in principle and in inchoate experimental form not a few of the vital features of the later expanded and compacted polity of Methodism. The class-meeting, with its financial feature, something from every body for the work of God; the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting; a superintending head and chief authority in the direction of the affairs of the Church; well-defined responsibility on the part of all church officers; the concentration of all church agencies through a living connectionalism upon one great end, missionary aggressiveness; the itinerancy—all these, and more that might be named, had at least rudimental existence in the rules of Mr. Wesley, and in his own administration of them among the people called Methodists.

Writing for Methodist readers, such general acquaintance with our polity may be assumed as to render unnecessary here more than a merely summarized statement. It can be no less a reproach to a church member to be without a general knowledge of his ecclesiastical government than to a citizen to be ignorant of the political government under which he lives. The composition and prerogatives of Quarterly, Annual, and General Conferences; the duties of those who represent the several grades of office in the Church, from the chief pastors down through the list, and how they are made officers; the nature of our episcopacy, what sort it is as to ministerial rank, official privileges, and administrative powers; the itinerancy, its bearing upon the ministry and laity as to mutual relinquishment of original rights and privileges, and its regulated operation; the judicial system of our economy, by which churchly order is conserved and purity of doctrine and of life is protected; the plans by which the various benevolences of the Church are maintained and prosecuted; the legislation concerning finance, or "for raising supplies for the propagation of the Gospel;" the obligations involved in membership among us as they relate to private and public behavior, and to the diligent use of established Christian ordinances or the means of grace—all these, which are inherent in our polity, and whatever else belongs to it, are set forth clearly and fully in our Book of Discipline. The Methodist who has not a fair understanding of them through careful study of that manual is unworthy of the place he has in the Church, and is

disqualified for meeting the grave responsibilities he has freely assumed.

Dispensing with further allusion to particulars in our polity, if we survey it in its wholeness, the following marked features and facts appear:

1. Its development through the years, from the fewest and simplest provisions to the comprehensive summary presented in the latest edition of our Discipline.

Some idea of this development may be obtained by remembering that at the beginning of our history, prior to 1784, a few pages of the Conference Minutes contained the "Rules and Regulations" for the Societies, and that the first published Discipline, in 1784, which includes a good deal of matter that does not come under the head of polity, is reproduced entire on fifty-six pages of Emory's "History of the Discipline." At present a volume of over four hundred pages is largely taken up with the elaboration of our polity.

Two inferences may be drawn from this historical fact in our ecclesiasticism:

First, it was the faith of the fathers, as it is ours—a faith resting upon the impregnable testimony of Christian history covering eighteen centuries, as well as upon Scripture—that no finished or invariable form of church government is imposed in the New Testament; that the most that can be found there are comprehensive, guiding principles, whose application is consistent with a large degree of freedom. Or, as Dr. Bangs has put it, restating the conclusion of Stillingfleet in his "Irenicum," that "the determining of the form of government is a matter of liberty in the Church,"—"no specific form of church government is prescribed in Scripture, and therefore it is left to the discretion of each Church to regulate these matters as the exigencies of time, place, and circumstances shall dictate to be most expedient and likely to accomplish the greatest amount of good, always avoiding any and every thing which God has prohibited." Thus holding that the economic arrangements of the Church may be modified from time to time as circumstances require, in order to the largest and best results—the limitations of the New Testament always being regarded—Methodism from the first has not hesitated to change its methods, by excision, addition, or otherwise, for the

sake of greater efficiency in fulfilling its appointed mission. It recognizes no obligation to retain what has been simply because it has been, when something else promises earlier and richer fruit. When ruts become obstructions to success, it is not restrained by an idolatrous reverence for antiquity from abandoning them for even untraveled paths, if these surely point to it. And as it has dealt with its polity in the past, so it will continue to do, being careful, as hitherto, to pay due respect to those unalterable and inviolable directive principles which the New Testament lays down.

A second inference is, that we have always trusted to providential guidance in constructing and reconstructing our polity, and the results prove that we have not trusted in vain. "Lo! I am with you alway," has been relied on and appealed to as an abiding promise of the Lord to his Church. Not a measure has been incorporated into its economy, it may be affirmed, without humble prayer for the Spirit's help, and the firm conviction of approval on high. Southey says Mr. Wesley "believed" that "God would always provide means for his own ends." So his sons and successors have steadfastly believed.

It would be assuming too much to say that mistakes have never been made in our economical legislation, that the best thing has always been done, or that at any period we have had a perfect system. But this much is claimed, on the basis of indubitable Scripture authority and of the historical development of the Church through the centuries, that divine guidance is promised to the Church when it is true to its Lord and to the mission he gives it; that while it may not pretend to infallibility in any of its measures, except those primarily and permanently fixed by Christ himself, it may, when fully consecrated and trustful and prayerful and earnest, within the sphere of liberty allowed it, connect its conclusions as to both spiritual and temporal administration with the enlightening Spirit and leading providence of God. Holding such belief—looking out for the hand of God in all human affairs and discerning it as it opened doors and invested every opportunity with responsibility, clinging to the abiding presence and revealing function of the Holy Ghost in the Church, willing to follow where providence and the Spirit manifestly led and called, Methodism has built up its polity. And as it

and the world have beheld the unparalleled results attending its operation, its confession has always been, "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes."

While it retains its place among the evangelical forces of Christendom, Methodism will doubtless be called from time to time, as it has been, to modify its polity at various points. It is not likely, however, to lose its identity, nor to change its great, underlying principles, the forces that give it uniqueness and compactness and effectiveness in work, especially its itinerancy and general superintendency. But since the world will not stand still, Methodism cannot. New environments will call for new appliances, or the reconstruction of old ones. Much of the old will attest that it has served its purpose. Let none tremble with alarm at prospective or possible changes while this confidence endures, that only those required by new social or political or moral conditions, and providentially ordered, will be ventured. And while the Church preserves its spirituality in faith and life and power, and keeps to its mission of spreading scriptural holiness over all lands, it may expect in all things to be taught and led by its omnipresent and omnipotent Head. It will always be true, as Wesley believed, that God will not fail to "provide means for his own ends." Any Church that parades its polity as an immutable one, and on that ground arrogates exclusive right to churchly titles and prerogatives, if it does not thereby prove that it ought never to have been, does evince from within itself that the moving, growing world would lose but little if it ceased to be. An invariable ecclesiasticism, while it may hold on to pomp, must inevitably decline in power—the power that lifts men to God and purifies society. The very assertion of undeviating adherence, in principle and practice, to an ancient polity, demonstrates, and all the more when the plea of infallibility is urged because of such adherence, that the organization represented has forfeited its credentials as a truly witnessing Church. As a relic of the past, remembering a dignity and usefulness that once belonged to it, we may try to venerate it. As a part of the present, we can only treat it as the expression of sickliness and feebleness in spiritual life and work, not mentionable among the meliorating, regenerating forces of the world, whose absence it would miss and mourn as nature would the light of its sun.

2. No review of our polity can omit reference to its *unity.*

Methodism is not a jumble of inharmonious, clashing fragments, but a solidified whole, whose essential parts are closely correlated, and combined to make up a self-consistent and vigorous economy. It is a remarkable fact, reflecting highest credit upon the far-seeing sagacity and judicial wisdom of those who, through successive quadrenniums, have shaped our polity, that all our legislation rounds out into a unified system, unexcelled in symmetry and in the nicely adjusted balance of its parts. Each part, as just remarked, has relation to every other; all fit together with admirable adaptation and reciprocal helpfulness, while none are so insignificant or so distant as not to feel the vibration when one is touched. Of course some parts of our polity have, relatively, higher value than others. Some could not be dropped out without disastrous consequences. The abolition of the itinerancy or of our general superintendency, for example, would work such a revolution in Methodism that, as we now know it, but little else than the name would remain. For these are foundation principles in our economy; they are the driving-wheels of our machinery. When they stop, all motion is arrested; when they break down, the whole machine is powerless. And yet so real is the unity of our system in its entirety—so interlocked are all its parts—that it is allowable to appropriate Paul's language, and say, "If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it," for "the body is one." It would be well, if some who are clamoring for extreme changes in our polity would get a broader view and better understanding of this aspect of it than they seem to have, as thereby they might be enabled to see that their proposed improvements involve, not a single change, but so many radical changes that, if effected, we would have practically a new system throughout. There is yet wanted proof that Providence or the times demand it, or that it would be an improvement upon what we have.

Now this unity of polity has not come to pass by chance or accident. It is not the outcome of guesses, or of merely impulsive and experimental legislation. It has been steadily aimed at; it was designed to be. It is a necessity with us, and has been felt to be such from the beginning. Without it there could never have been that consolidation and mutuality of interests and responsibilities which we have made our work-

ing principle, and to which our success is in no small measure to be referred. Nothing less would be a true expression of the paramount idea of our organization. That idea is, and since 1784 has been, an all-embracing connectionalism, consolidating the individuals of the Church into one body, and concentrating all resources and forces for a common cause. It links all the parts together by connectional ties for connectional use.

Methodism makes little account of individualism, except as it may appropriate and utilize it as an element of power in strengthening the whole and in carrying on the general work. Without pressing too far the idea of the proprietorship involved, it may be said of all the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, its ministry included, that they *belong* to the Church. They are in the Church *for* the Church, their membership in one society or conference allying them to every denominational plan and movement. So the separate societies and congregations *belong* to and are *for* the denomination. They are parts of a whole. The conservation of the whole, and its equipment for the largest possible effectiveness as an evangelical working agency, is the supreme reason for the recognition and retention of the parts. No self-assertion of the parts is admissible that conflicts with primary and paramount obligations to the whole. Congregationalism in Methodism, while we keep in view the purpose and spirit with which it started, must be pronounced a contradiction, by nature unfitted to represent the distinctive principles and accomplish the mission of which the name, Methodism, is the recognized symbol.

There is much needed throughout our membership, in both its ministry and laity, a more intelligent appreciation of the strictly connectional character of our Church, and of the corresponding unity of its polity. Each explains the other. They are indissoluble. As the former is appreciated and approved, the latter is likely to be, and *vice versa*. If the Church at large shall have been brought up to such appreciation during its centenary year, it will not have been celebrated in vain.

3. Methodism looks to results.

It was formed, and is fitted, to bring things to pass. Methodism has never made much of mere show. It has but little use for the millinery and tinseled ornamentation for sensuous

effect; the spoiling of worship by "a round of dramatic pantomime, with... scenic accompaniments... only adapted to the lowest stage of human thought," as if the Church were satisfied with itself, and asking the world to be satisfied with it,—when fashionable society condescends to patronize it, and when its fruit is chiefly gathered from harvests whose seed it never sowed,—it will imitate those who cleave to "beggarly elements," and either altogether discard the living, quickening power, or subordinate it to the dead form. Methodism prescribes an order for public worship; but that order does not conflict with the inspired teaching that "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." It has a ritual, indeed, but such is its simplicity and practicalness that it guards against abuse, and, with its conformity to Scripture, secures uniformity and admitted propriety in the services of the Church. Its ritual is not a yoke, but a teacher—an inspiration.

In a word, all the methods of Methodism, in its several departments, contemplate substantial, and generally early, results, which mark progress and growth. When there are no results after sufficient efforts, and the failure can be traced to the unsuitableness of the methods employed, they are quickly displaced. Fruit is the test of value. Nothing is esteemed as worth having out of which something does not come. We should be damaged by fossilized forms and ornamental appendages that do not signify either force or fruit.

To the work which, with divine favor, it has wrought, Methodism confidently appeals for the vindication of its polity and of its right to be. The work and the polity under which it has come to pass cannot be dissevered. They must be connected in any intelligent, ingenuous investigation, and the one is, on the human side, the chief solution of the other. The wonderful achievements of Methodism are mainly due to its singular economy. Taking the test-principle, that applies to churches no less than to individuals and nations, "by their fruits ye shall know them," and applying it to ourselves, we feel warranted in asserting that our case stands. Our vine, we believe, produces the fruit which proves it to be of the heavenly Father's planting.

The work of Methodism is before the world, and it well-nigh covers the entire earth. It is the religious phenomenon of the

nineteenth century. In our own country its proportions are largest and most impressive. This country could not have been what it is without it. To it, more than to any other single agency, it is indebted for the Gospel. But all the nations have shared in the blessings that have flowed from it. Universal civilization owes it an immeasurable debt. There is not a Christian denomination in America or Europe which has not been brought under obligations to it. Only bigotry can fail to acknowledge this work, and only bigotry intensified by inexcusable stupidity can disallow the inference which the simplest logic requires.

We do not claim that our polity constitutes us *the* Church, to the exclusion and unchurching of others. But we do aver that, as far as mere polity can, it invests us with a real churchhood.

As to recognition by others, from whose polity ours differs, we do not beg for it, but assert our right to it, and our perfect equality with any and every other body styling itself a Church. At no vital point has any other body the advantage of us. We owe it to ourselves and to truth never to concede such advantage on any sort of superiority. As to the Pharisaic narrowness which refuses recognition because we prefer substance to shadow, power to pomp, the living present to the dead past, spiritual life to worn-out fables, a ministry that brings men to Christ anywhere without prayer-book or candles or gown to one that has to hunt its legitimacy and authority amid the rubbish and rottenness of the papacy—we need not be concerned about that. We give it our pity and go ahead with our work, neither distressed nor discouraged. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

As Methodists, while humiliation is befitting because of unfaithfulness in making the most of our appliances and opportunities, we have abundant reason to be grateful for the past and hopeful for the future. It is not presumptuous to believe that, if true to our mission, God will continue to use us in extending his kingdom. A deep sense of our responsibilities as a Church, duly shared by all the preachers and people of Methodism, and a vivid realization of the fact that our perils are more from within than from without, will go far both to prevent the impairment of our system, and to bring out continuously the greatest efficiency of which it is, or may be made, capable.

Art. VI.—THE CHRISTIAN LIFE OF REV. JOHN S. INSKIP—A STUDY.

"One seldom finds, even among sincere Christians, that symmetry of life, that balance of character, which the promise of the Scripture holds out to our expectation, and which makes the life of our Lord the ideal life. Where we find great amiability there is apt to be a want of steadfast manliness. Where great force of character exists, we are apt to be disappointed in the lack of the ornaments of a meek and quiet spirit. Where great faith has enabled a soul to step beyond the ordinary reliance of most Christians, we are so often disappointed to find the fullness of a complete faith marred by the divergences of fanaticism, and superstition taking the place of reliance on truth."

We find the above in a modest and little-known volume, a kind of autobiographical memorial of a chronic bed-ridden invalid, in whom the suffering graces seem to have very nearly realized the divine ideal of completeness. Its author was a Quaker preacher, who had been in that sick chamber, and found it to be a veritable Bethel, and was almost persuaded that he had found the exceptional case in which the distinctive and characteristic graces of the subject were neither marred nor discounted by their opposing faults or infirmities. The paragraph is introduced in this place to recognize and affirm an important fact among the phenomena of the Christian life, that nearly every form of graciousness of character is liable to become faulty by verging into an unwholesome or excessive development, so as to destroy the spiritual symmetry and mar the completeness of the divine image in the soul: a consideration well calculated to teach us humility, to mitigate our exactions toward each other, and to induce greater charity in our judgments respecting the character and lives of professed Christians. It is also introduced to indicate the spirit in which we desire to consider the Christian career, experimental and active, of an eminent Christian minister.

Rev. John S. Inskip was born in Bradford, England, about seventy years ago. While he was yet a child his parents removed to this country and settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, where their son passed his childhood and youth, and came to

the critical period when the world lay before him and his life's career must be entered upon. His outfit for that great enterprise was neither large nor liberal. He was not learned nor wealthy; but he had a sound mind in a sound body, was trained to habits of industry and self-reliance, and, being endowed with a full share of hopefulness and buoyancy of spirit, the outlook was to him quite the opposite of discouraging. But just at this point in his history, that is, as he was nearing manhood, an event occurred in his experience that changed the tendencies of his aspirations and gave a new direction to all his purposes, and which effectually determined the course of his life. His father's house was not at that time, in the higher and better sense, a Christian home; and yet it was not destitute of religious and Christianizing influences, which also largely permeated and tempered the social community in which he lived, and of whose spirit he became unconsciously a partaker. At sixteen years old he was converted, and became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The value of such a transition in the case of an active and self-reliant American youth, just bursting forth into life's activities, with the unrestrained freedom and large self-consciousness that one recognizes in that class of persons, is quite beyond any comparative estimate. It directly and at once introduced him to new and better relationships, placed him in more wholesome and conservative associations, and surrounded him with influences that pointed him to a high spiritual ideal, as both possible of attainment and altogether to be desired. If he was truly converted—which need not be doubted—the fundamental elements of his character, the first principles of his being, the law of his life, his will and affections, had all been brought into new conditions. Obedience to God had taken the place of the natural self-will; devotion had replaced the naturally dominant egoism; and the instinctive trend of the whole moral nature had become Godward. The course of living and the objects to be aimed at—the pleasures, ambitions, and attainments that had risen up before the youthful imagination—were now to be cast down, and an entirely new path entered upon, that was to be pursued from motives before unknown to him. We are considering our subject as simply an ordinary Christian youth, born of the Spirit, and honestly endeavoring to fulfill

his baptismal vows, "to renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so as not to follow or be led by them;" and the after life, which we are now to consider, answers to and proves that he was such in his experience and in his conduct.

It is also agreeable to the known facts of the case to assume that his conversion was the great and commanding event of his history, because his whole after life was fashioned by it; that this was something *real*, a spiritual regeneration that raised him to a higher plane of being, with better aspirations and a broader and clearer spiritual vision. It would be vain to conjecture what he would have been without that great change; but whatever he became—all that we contemplate in his life and character as seen in his history, or that we cherish as worthy to be remembered respecting him—depended upon, and in some measure grew out of, that great event. Instead of continuing in his natural estate of unspiritual carnality, he had been brought to know his Maker as a sin-pardoning God, and to accept his high calling to serve and please God in newness of life. And although we might suspect that his later life was not entirely free from doubts and fears, and perhaps occasional and partial backslidings, yet the better impulses prevailed in the sequel, and the Christian life triumphed.

Then there came another crisis in his experience, when he seemed to hear the voice of the Spirit speaking to his deepest religious consciousness and saying, "The Lord hath need of thee," and so calling him, with a specifical designation, to the ministry of the Gospel. It was an original Methodist doctrine —it may be devoutly hoped that it will never become antiquated, and the more so because the more spiritual of other denominations are beginning to recognize it—that the call to the ministry is direct and specific, the voice of the Spirit coming directly to the spiritual consciousness of the child of God; and, accordingly, there must be, in the history of every one whom the Head of the Church chooses for the special service of the ministry, a time when the soul seems to hear the "still small voice" of the Spirit intimating "the Master has come and calleth for thee." To this the first response is not unfrequently a decided protest of unwillingness—pleading unfitness

and inability, like Moses, or rising up in open rebellion, like Jonah. To the devout the work may appear too great and too sacred, and in not a few cases the flesh will suggest that the sacrifice is more than should be required. As in the soul's conversion there is in every case a conflict and a conquest, so, in the call to the ministry, the trembling soul yields only with reluctance, submitting as a willing captive to bear the yoke of Christ. We assume all this in respect to our subject, because he was inducted into the office and work of the ministry by the normal and prescriptive Methodist processes, and because he professed, and the Church accepted his profession, that he thought in his heart that he was truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, to this sacred and responsible work. He accepted his calling, not from motives of human prudence, nor simply with the reasonable hope that he could in that way most surely glorify God and save his own soul, but because he was assured that such was the divine will, *and he dared not disobey.* As we are not writing a memoir, we need not pursue his life-story through all its changes. It is enough to say that he became a traveling preacher in the Philadelphia Conference in 1836; that after successive appointments in Ohio, New York, and Baltimore, he at length gave himself entirely to the work of an evangelist, preaching especially the doctrine, and calling Christians to the experience, of Christian holiness; and while so occupied he ceased at once to work and live.

A man's natural cast of mind and his inborn peculiarities remain specifically the same in all the stages of religious experience. Even among the apostles may be traced their several characteristics, which survive in the thoughts and images shown us in the New Testament. So in the Christian and ministerial life of him whose career we are now considering, his mental peculiarities and spiritual habitudes are clearly indicated. The impulsive fervor of his nature was readily detected in the moods of his religious life, and especially in the character of his preaching. His constitutional frankness, sanctified by grace, rendered him intolerant of *shams* and *cant*, and made it impossible for him to present the truth in consciously recognized disguises. Because he was loyal to his own convictions and to the spirit of God's truth, he sometimes uttered unacceptable things, and often exposed and denounced the specious false-

hood. The certainty and the rapidity of his intuitions of the *true* and the *right* compelled him to the front in reforms, which, though at length triumphant, were achieved in opposition to public favor, and only through struggles and conflicts. And even in those special manifestations of the Christian life for which in the sequel he became chiefly distinguished, something of this downright and thorough fidelity to his heart's convictions may still be detected. He accepted with a ready faith the Methodist doctrine of an advanced and elevated form of Christian experience; and because he believed it he preached it, although his own heart told him that he had not himself attained to it, and he earnestly exhorted his hearers to lay hold by faith on this their high calling and gracious privilege. And when the thought was pressed home to his mind, by the Holy Spirit, that what was so clearly the duty of others was equally so to himself, with characteristic fidelity he confessed the claim and surrendered himself to the gracious requisition. And, having accepted the promises of the Gospel in their fullness, and demonstrated their saving power in his own heart, he freely, and with all the native ardor of his soul, declared what great things the Lord had done for him.

The religious history of our subject is inseparably connected with certain well-known forms and phases of personal Christian experience. More than thirty years after his conversion, most of which time he had been engaged in the ministry, he was seen to enter upon a new and definitely distinguished form of religious experience, but not in *kind*, nor yet clearly differentiated in its form and phases. There certainly are not two distinct kinds of Christian life, but equally certainly there are higher and lower stages of grace, and these are so definitely marked that they may be clearly discriminated. This is much more than a matter of speculation, because it is intimately related to our knowledge of the deep things of God. All will concede that the Christian life is a progression, and that they who have received Christ by spiritual regeneration are called to grow up into him in all spiritual fullness. Nor is this spiritual ascent usually a steady and uniform advancement, without definitely indicated transitions, nor a development without distinct crises; but it has its marked changes, with struggles and birth-throes, to be followed by new and clearly ascertained

attainments in divine things. These crises serve as stations and mile-stones along the "King's highway,"—they are seasons of real travail, in which victories are won, and spoils taken, and through which the soul rises into a higher plane of spiritual life. The experience of him whose case we are now considering, as many times related by himself and so largely attested by his subsequent life, abundantly affirm this view of the subject. He had himself, so he testified, dwelt and walked for more than thirty years on the lower level of Christian experience—not, indeed, without the consciousness of God's favor and with a measure of religious comfort, and yet not wholly satisfied—and then, by a clearly marked transition, he passed into another and a higher spiritual estate. Others have testified to a like experience, and have in like manner attested its genuineness by the godliness of their after lives. It need not be denied that some who have professed such an experience may have been charlatans or superficial pretenders—some self-deceived and some consciously false—but the facts still remain, and the sober devotion and manifest integrity and the godly living of very many who have witnessed this confession, render it impossible to set aside their testimony.

It may seem conventional, and perhaps belittling, to speak of these later spiritual crises as "the second blessing," and yet perhaps no other form of words can so adequately describe the thing intended. Nor is there any lack of scriptural warrant for such an experience in the religious life of the fathers. Even in the Old Testament we find examples of it. Jacob at Bethel saw the vision of the Ladder, and there and then entered into a covenant with the God of his fathers, from which it does not appear that he afterward departed; but his religious life during the next twenty years was certainly an unelevated one. But when on his way returning to the land of Canaan, the home of his early life, he was met by the Angel with whom he wrestled all night; and there he received a new name, and began a new and better course of living. David was from his youth up an obedient servant of God, so steadfast in his devotion that he was recognized as a man after God's own heart; but not only was his outward life, for a time, very far from perfect, but he himself confesses that his heart was not right with God; he was envious at the prosperity of the wicked,

and his heart was brutish toward God. But at length a change came upon his spirit; he went into the sanctuary of God—the secret chamber of his own heart—where the Spirit met him and taught him better things by raising him into a higher spiritual estate. Isaiah—the prophet that more clearly than any other saw the coming glory of Messiah's kingdom—when called to the prophetic office, felt and confessed his unfitness for that work till the seraph had touched his lips with a coal from God's altar, and declared to him that his "iniquity was taken away, and his sin purged." The apostles walked with Christ three years, and they so profited by his teachings that he himself spoke of them, with a single exception, as "clean;" and yet the experience of the day of Pentecost was to them at once a new revelation and the beginning of a higher degree of the spiritual life. The first stages of the Christian life constitute, in their usual and normal development, a period of spiritual infancy, and yet with the possibilities of the largest attainments. Every thing is at that stage only inchoate and incomplete. The germination of the grain of mustard seed, and the after growth of the plant—the fermentation of the leaven that was placed in the meal "till all was leavened"—are the divine Teacher's illustrations of the phenomena of spiritual increase in those who are born of the Spirit.

There are in these direct and obvious aspects of Christian experience important and far-reaching implications of theological truth. They assume the reality of "sin in believers," from which devout souls groan to be delivered. And since "there is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus," the presence of this abiding sin is not in itself a cause of personal guilt. But in order to this state of the case, the sin so recognized must be abhorred and resisted, and its power to bring the soul into condemnation must be constantly, unceasingly, thwarted by the perpetual renewed efficiency of the merits of Christ's death, made effective in the soul by faith. The Christian who walks in the light, and rejoices in the fellowship of love, and with unwearied faith appropriates the blood of Christ both for pardoning and for cleansing, still confesses, from the depths of his spiritual consciousness, his need of the merits of Christ's blood.

It also clearly distinguishes the essence and reality of sin from the volitionary activities of its subject. No real Christian, what-

ever may be the stage of his attainments in grace, consciously chooses to do wrong; and yet there is clear and oftentimes very pungent conviction of sin, against which the soul strives with all its powers of will and action. The whole theory of the "second blessing" implies the presence and the activity of indwelling sin, against which the will of the true Christian is perpetually striving and overcoming through faith. And because this form of sin is common to all men, and exists independent of both volition and consciousness, it seems to inhere in our nature. It is "original sin," which must be eliminated "through sanctification of the Spirit" and "the renewing of the Holy Ghost."

However humiliating the confession may be, yet the truth is too plainly manifest to be doubted, that the average Christian life is pursued on a comparatively low level of spirituality; and even Christian ministers, though honestly sincere, and maintaining a moderate degree of religious enjoyment, are too often found walking in incompleteness of faith, and having very limited religious attainments. That this should be so is indeed not necessary, and certainly it ought not to be, for the whole purpose and spirit of the Gospel calls its subjects to a higher estate of grace and to a more complete and holier life. And yet, while we are compelled to recognize the fact that for thirty years before his remarkable transition the subject of this study was only an average Christian, we do not, therefore, conclude that he was false to his profession, but rather, beyond a doubt, that he was a true believer, honestly purposing to do the will of God. And it is greatly to his credit that when he was raised into a higher plane of experience, he neither denied nor depreciated the grace that he had before received, and in which he stood during the earlier years of his ministry.

The practical value of these considerations may justify their further examination. If we grant that it is according to the economy of the grace of God that believers, being found in Christ, shall, by walking in him, go onward to perfection, then two practical thoughts, closely related to this subject, call for our attention. These are (1) the phenomenal character of this progress, and (2) the nature and conditions of the state so attained. The former of these may seem to be only partially alike in the experience of different persons, and the latter are,

no doubt, somewhat varied in their aspects by differences of individual temperaments, and also by the character and extent of former religious instruction and culture, and by accidental environments. But a careful inspection and analysis of the cases in which these differences are the most manifest, will show that such diversities are only apparent or that they are merely superficial and incidental, while the sum and substance of the Christian life, and also its fruits, are wonderfully uniform, and its movements strangely harmonious among those that experience its power.

Progress in spirituality is the normal condition of the religious life, without which, steadily operating, that life cannot be maintained in a state of wholesome effectiveness. As the young plant must grow, or else it will wither and perish, and as the young animal that is not so nourished as to develop into its proper fullness of growth becomes dwarfed and deformed, with a constant perilous liability to death, so the soul that is "born again" is, by the conditions of its new life, designed for a course of spiritual increase, growing up into Christ and the Christly character in all things. And to such a process of spiritual growth and development, going on to "perfection," the whole of the spiritual nature—the "new man"—certainly and naturally tends with all the force and steadiness of its instinctive being. And certainly the very idea of "growth in grace" implies a gradation in Christian experience, the going forward by successive stages to more and more nearly perfected forms of spiritual manhood. There are in the personal history of every true Christian the successive stages of childhood, of young manhood, and of patriarchal maturity, but these severally are very far from synchronizing with the stages of the natural life.

The phenomena of this progress through its several stages are interesting and profitable for study. At the beginning there are, indeed, peace and joy, and there are also seasons of perplexity, and not unfrequently the shadows of doubts that occasion fears. But if by diligence and fidelity of devotion all recognized sin is carefully avoided, the soul's peace with God will remain steadfast. But this state of religious growth may itself at length become the occasion of spiritual disquietude. The quickened and clarified spiritual consciousness at

length discovers, deep down in the soul, hitherto undetected, depths of "indwelling sin," giving pain to the conscience, and awakening anew and with increased intensity longings to be delivered; and this conviction of *the sin of the soul*, this self-abhorrence in view of the infinite holiness of the divine law and of the soul's lack of conformity to its spirit and precepts, is often as distinct and as great a burden upon the spirit of the truly regenerate as was the sense of sin and guilt and consequent danger at the first awakening. This is the believer's seventh of Romans. Then the burdened spirit cries out, "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity;" "Create in me a *clean* heart, and renew a right spirit within me;" and at length it formulates its emotions in the petition, "*Break off* this yoke of inbred sin." In all this there is indeed "no condemnation;" for in the midst of this tempest of fears and hopes and longing desires the face of the Sun of Righteousness is not hidden, but it is an earnest struggling to be delivered from *this body of death*, with the accompanying prayer, to which only the promised Comforter can give effective utterance:

> "Speak the *second time*, 'Be clean,'
> Take away *my inbred sin*."

And in answer comes the gracious assurance, I "will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be *clean:* from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you." The work of faith is fulfilled, and the soul rests in God, filled with joy of the Holy Ghost.

And now we are prepared to consider the second of the thoughts before referred to, and in doing so we will repeat what we have said in another place:

"But what is the condition, as to indwelling sin, into which the soul is thus brought? Is it, or is it not, an absolute destruction and extirpation of the 'carnal mind?' Here is an open question, and one of real interest. The best Methodist authorities—and among them Wesley and Watson—treat that question very cautiously, and the former directly declares that he had never taught the doctrine of the possibility of a *sinless perfection*. Possibly, however, when carefully and understandingly examined, the question will be found to be one respecting the meaning of words rather than of the substance of things.

According as different persons define the terms 'sin' and 'purity,' the question may be answered either YES or NO, just as more or less shall be included in them. It is certain, however, that at such a crisis a mighty and thorough victory is achieved; that indwelling sin, if not absolutely cast out, is most effectually bruised under the feet of the incoming Conqueror."

But as a subsidiary question it may be asked, Can we, for ourselves, judge and determine in this matter? May any one answer, with certainty, what is the state of his own soul in respect to "inbred sin?" Let us see:

There are three several sources of self-knowledge that may be consulted in such a case: *consciousness*, *experience*, and *divine assurance*. 1. Consciousness takes notice of the soul's active processes, but the range of its observance does not extend to the quiescent states. Whether, therefore, the carnal mind is only subdued into *inaction* or utterly *extirpated*, consciousness cannot answer, because the subject is beyond its range. And even should some of the motions of sin very faintly show themselves in their thick disguises, it is not certain that the power of introspection would infallibly detect them as such. And it is even more likely that the tender conscience might miscall the innocent infirmities of the soul, *sins*. 2. Nearly the same remarks will apply to the reports of experience. It is no certain evidence that there is no indwelling sin in the soul because its motions have not been felt for a given season, short or long, for certainly we cannot always and infallibly distinguish between natural moral incompleteness and spiritual depravity. 3. As to the evidence of *divine assurance*, while we hold to and glory in the doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit, we do not see how, in its usual methods, it can bear any testimony upon this subject. It witnesses to our acceptance by creating our peace, and raising our hopes to God. It testifies to our sonship by giving us the filial spirit, "the Spirit of adoption," from which the apostle infers (by a logical process) our heirship through Christ. But in none of these is there any direct communication to the understanding, no interjection of logical ideas, as there must be in order that the fact of personal sinlessness shall be assured. And if the individual himself cannot certainly determine this question, much less

can another determine it for him. It is, however, our privilege to know that the most complete victory has been achieved and is maintained; and by divinely-begotten hope its glorious consummation is assured to the faithful.

But turning from these questions, which are only of secondary importance, to the certain and positive things in this work of grace, we find in them a rich *inventory* of the most excellent spiritual gifts. Because of the soul's illumination all the great things of spiritual religion become manifest to its vision, and the tendered conscience feels and responds to their touch. All of the heart's affections—its *loves* and its *repulsions*, its hopes and its fears, its joys and its sorrows—are attuned into harmony with the mind of Christ, who also, with the Father and the Spirit, becomes the supreme object of LOVE. Dwelling thus in the divine presence, the soul, with all its ransomed power, becomes engaged and absorbed in unutterable *wonder*, *love*, and *praise*—in holy and all-comprehending *worship*. In this is found the realization of St. Paul's inimitable prayer for the Ephesian saints: "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the *breadth*, and *length*, and *depth*, and *height;* and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, *that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.*" This is the spiritual fulfillment of that which was long before assured to the natural Israel under literal and material symbols: "Happy art thou, O Israel: who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee; and thou shalt tread upon their high places."

We have thus dwelt at length upon these things, both on account of their intrinsic excellence and because of their close relationship to the life and the Christian experience now under consideration; for whatever else may be remembered or forgotten respecting him, John S. Inskip will be remembered as a *confessor* and an *apostle* of the doctrine and experience of Christian holiness. For thirty years he was an average Methodist minister in respect to spiritual attainments and Christian fidelity. He was doctrinally orthodox and evangelical in his methods; diligent and zealous in his ministry, and blameless in

his life before men. But he came at length to a profound conviction that his religious life was proceeding on an altogether unelevated spiritual plane, and that his duty as a minister, and his privilege as a Christian, united in calling him to a higher experience. As a Methodist he had learned the doctrine of Christian perfection, had accepted it as his own, and had solemnly professed to be groaning after its realization in himself. He was at length led by the Spirit to see its attainment as a present duty and privilege, and he "*was not disobedient to the heavenly vision*," but joyfully accepted the great salvation.

It will be pertinent at this point to say something respecting the existing state of the subject of advanced Christian life, variously designated "sanctification," "Christian perfection," and "holiness," among the Methodists of New York and vicinity during the second and third quarters of the present century, and coming down to the date of the things now under our notice.

Before that date it had been a prominent subject of pulpit instruction, and eminent practical examples of its truth and excellence were not wanting. It is quite certain, however, that, about the middle decades of the century, there had been a falling away in respect to the subject in both the pulpit and the class-room. It was, however, during all this time pressed upon the attention of the Church by not a few faithful ones; and especially by a distinguished Christian woman, whose name need not be mentioned, and by those who became associated with her as confessors and propagandists of that form of faith and experience. And now that the actors in those things and the partisans in the controversies that arose about them have nearly all passed away, and it may be believed have come together in the goodly company of the redeemed and sanctified, it is not too much to admit that the influence of that voice crying in the wilderness was both needful and productive of good results. Possibly there were infelicities of doctrinal statement, and sometimes, we think, there was quite too little meekness in resisting opposition, but whatever deductions may be deemed necessary for these things, it is still quite certain that the resultant balance of good was not inconsiderable; and as the memory of the contests of the past faded out, and the zeal that would have called down fire from heaven to consume the opposers gave place to the gentleness of spirit that breathed

only the apostolic exhortation—"Little children, love one another"—we were all ready to magnify the grace that had matured so richly. And yet it was painfully manifest at the time of Mr. Inskip's wonderful spiritual transition that in the Church generally the fires of the divine life in its higher forms were burning only comparatively faintly. A deeper impression and a more active inspiration seemed needful to reinstate it in the hearts of the people, and especially among the younger ministers, so as to secure for it a voice in the pulpit and in the churches.

The external conditions of Mr. Inskip's experience, in connection with his great spiritual transition as related by himself, and as it has become a part of the religious history of the time, are remarkable and instructive. He was simply pursuing the leadings of his own heart's convictions, as these came to him from the word of God and the teachings of the Holy Spirit, and setting forth in his ministrations the high privileges of believers to receive the heavenly baptism, though as yet he had not attained to the fullness of that blessing. But that which he preached to others the Spirit repreached to his own heart and understanding; and so, convinced of his own great opportunity, he surrendered himself to be dealt with as the Spirit might dictate. And it was done for him according to his faith. Historically and phenomenally the whole transaction appears as a simple act of faith in self-surrender, followed by a great spiritual baptism, which is proved also to have been a marvelous uplifting of soul and a casting down of the strong man of sin; the spoiling of his goods, and their replacement with the furniture and adornment of the graces of the Spirit. And then all things were at once and freely consecrated anew, a *living* sacrifice, to *testify* and to *work* for Christ. To any one capable of appreciating these things, and seeing them in their manifestations and results, they must appear as *indubitable* proofs that the work then accomplished was *genuine* and *thorough*,—a real and a marked spiritual transformation, raising their subject into a higher plane of Christian experience and superinducing new habitudes in his whole spiritual being; a sanctification not only in the soul's victory and cleansing, but also and eminently in the earnest and lively consecration of himself to the Master's service.

We may not fail to observe, as is indicated in the words that stand at the head of this paper, that such an experience, and the after life to which it leads, are beset with peculiar and very formidable dangers. To say nothing of spiritual pride, which will assuredly be presented by the tempter, on the one hand will be the *whirlpool* of fanaticism, and on the other the quicksands of *quietistic mysticism.* Nor need we assume that in this case either of these was absolutely and completely avoided. We *may* and *do* say, however, that he suffered less from them than have many others who have been made partakers of the same excellent grace. The glowing fervor of his soul could not fail to make him aware of the comparative lukewarmness of his associates in the ministry and of the Church generally, and with this would come a liability to censoriousness and a tendency to separation, which might readily mature into a Pharisaic self-complacency, and result in a kind of incipient or even real "come-outer-ism." That this temptation was actually felt is sufficiently evident; and that, at times, and to a limited extent, it was listened to, may be suspected; but however that may be, it is certain that it did not gain any permanent ascendency in either his heart or mind, and that, with advancing years of experience, his spirit was drawn more and more intimately near to his Church and his brethren.

Nor have we far to inquire for the influences by which he was saved from these perils; for they arose directly and spontaneously from the character of his experience. That was, indeed, a work of faith and a baptism of fire; but it was of a faith that works by *love*, and a fire that *fused* the *affections* and separated them from earthly elements. The growth of Christian charity in the renewed heart is often more gradual than is that of the primary fruits of faith; and it is possible that these, if not duly tempered by that, may induce censoriousness, and result in alienations, thus making a *schism* in the body of Christ. But in this case the spirit of charity, at length, in every instance, gained the ascendency, till finally it dominated the whole man and became the ruling habit of his mind and life. John S. Inskip was characteristically a social and a lovable man. He loved especially his associates in the Christian ministry, and eminently those to whom he was most closely related by the mystical affinities that bind kindred souls to each

other; and his heart could never separate from them. He loved his Church relations, and cherished them as *inestimably precious* and *helpful;* and his expectations of the success of the Gospel were fixed in the Church and its institutions and methods.

Those who carefully observed his course during the years of his later and more strenuous evangelistic labors, and who had some knowledge of his spiritual history, could, during his last years, clearly note the ripening of his spirit in unfeigned love of the brethren, the broadening of his charity, and his increased confidence in good men. As the forest fires at first dash and destroy with smoke and tempest, but at length subside into quiet in the intense fervors of all-consuming coals of fire, so in the processes of spiritual growth, there appears less and less of the outward, of demonstrative zeal against opposers, and of that exclusiveness of spirit which is blind to all excellence but of its own class. The militant Church never presents a more beautiful image, shows no other so lovely an embodiment of heavenly grace, as that of the matured Christian, in whose person and experience is exemplified the pre-eminence of *Charity*—that greater grace than either *Faith* or *Hope*, as is "seen" in him whose trusting spirit dwells in Christ and finds the world entirely beneath his feet—and in whom the spirit of the Divine Love has become incarnated and humanized. And while *Faith* views the promises with undimmed vision, and *Hope* realizes them by anticipation, this higher grace calmly reposes in the "peace of God." The warfare is accomplished, and even zeal abates its human fervors, "as Etna's fires grow dim before the rising day."

It would be to fail in one important point in the general subject now brought into notice, if nothing were said respecting the influence exerted upon the spiritual *status* of the Church, and even beyond our Methodism, upon those of other communions, by the specific religious movement of which *our subject* became the accepted head and leader. We have recognized a manifest defectiveness in the spiritual estate of New York Methodism thirty or forty years ago, and the same state of things probably existed in most other places, and still more in other evangelical communions. And now it seems too obvious to admit of any opposite opinion that there has occurred a most

gratifying change for the better, to which change there is scarcely any room to doubt that that movement has effectively and largely contributed. Ministers of the Gospel have become more thoughtful respecting both the matter and the spiritual tone of their preaching, and also of their outward life. The duty and privilege of personal consecration are more generally recognized among our people, and, if we mistake not, it is now much easier than formerly to introduce and dwell upon matters of personal religion in the ordinary intercourse of Christians. Other causes may have contributed to this change, but quite certainly the things which we have noticed have been among its effective agencies.

The doctrine of Christian Perfection, "the Higher Life," has become better understood than before, though the modes of statement adopted by some may not be generally accepted. We recognize that work as much more than an act of self-consecration; for, as with the repentant sinner a change of purposes and determinations falls entirely short of the conversion of the soul, so to "lay one's self upon the altar" is not the same as the spiritual sanctification that cleanses the heart and fashions it after the divine image. To sanctify the soul is God's act, in which the subject of the inwrought grace *receives*, rather than *works*, and is only active in accepting what is freely given; and the sufficiency of his faith is tested only by its results. It is due, however, to the memory of him of whom we have thus written, to recognize the fact that he was not much given to theorizing on the subject, and that his own experience, as well as the cast of his mind, made him averse to all refinements and metaphysical niceties in treating upon these things. His was a faith that grasped the substance of the prize, without pausing to analyze or inspect it over carefully, and, having gained it, he rejoiced in it as one that has won great spoil; and he was satisfied with the possession and the enjoyment it afforded.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

'A MISSIONARY BISHOP FOR AFRICA."

THEY who witnessed the consecration of Bishops at the late General Conference will, perhaps, recollect the form of words used by Bishop Foss in laying his hands upon William Taylor, setting him apart to the office and work to which the General Conference had elected him. Recognizing the special and exceptional nature of the work now to be committed to the candidate, the officiating Bishop so modified the language employed as to distinguish the trust, so devolved, from that which had been delivered to those who had just been inducted into the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and instead of saying, as had been said in those cases, "a Bishop in the Church of God," he said, "a Missionary Bishop for Africa." This difference in the words of the consecration indicate an essential unsameness in the office to which Mr. Taylor was designated and that of those who had just then been inducted into the constitutional episcopacy of the Church; and because the whole nature of the office of a Missionary Bishop—and the history of the office as well—shows it to be something else, and specifically another than the regular episcopacy of the Church, it was only right and proper that that difference should be indicated in the form of the consecration.

This service, being somewhat novel as a public performance, and altogether unique, very naturally gave rise to some thinking and questioning as to the legal *status* of the new "Bishop"—the nature of his office, and how it is related to the polity of the Church, and how differentiated from that of the regular Bishops. The asking of such questions makes it plain that the case has not been clearly apprehended by many of our ministers and most intelligent laymen—perhaps not by the incumbent of the new office himself. It, therefore, has seemed good to the writer hereof, having, like the author of the third gospel, "had an [approximately] perfect understanding of all [these] things from the very first," to write them out in order, in doing which we have, of course, sought to supplement our own recollections, and correct any possible misapprehensions from the recollections of others, by the use of all needful historical records, but not so as to bring any responsibility for what we write upon any others. The opinions offered are simply our own.

The idea of originating a missionary episcopacy grew out of the necessities of the work in Liberia, the insalubrity of the climate of which seemed to make it unsafe for any of our Bishops to properly superintend that work. It seemed questionable to some whether, on account of the limitations of its powers by the third restrictive rule, the General Conference possessed

the right to provide for the case. The question, however, was but very little looked into, since those who were chiefly active in promoting the measure were willing to test the feelings of the Church in respect to such a superintendency; and, accordingly, the subject was brought to the attention of the General Conference of 1856, sitting in Indianapolis, and that body, by a constitutional majority, voted to append to that rule what seemed to be a modification; and the action so taken was sent down to the Annual Conferences for their ratification, agreeable to the *proviso* subjoined to those rules, indicating the process by which changes may be made. The words so added are: "But [the General Conference] may appoint a Missionary Bishop or Superintendent for any of our foreign missions, limiting his jurisdiction to the same respectively." Concerning this it may be said, in the first place, that the addendum in nowise modifies the force and application of the third restrictive rule. That rule forbids the General Conference to do either one of two things—"to do away episcopacy," or to "destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." The first of these it certainly did not propose to do, nor does it appear that there was any thought of "destroying," or indeed modifying, the "plan" of the episcopacy as it had existed from the beginning. Had it been suspected of having any such design or tendency, there is certainly good ground to believe that it could not have received the favor of the General Conference, nor the concurrence of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences. It was scarcely at all discussed in the Church papers, but it seemed to go forth, with the indorsement of the General Conference, as a desirable and entirely harmless arrangement for the prosecution of our work in Africa, and so it was ratified by general consent. At that time this writer was a member of the Indiana Conference, and when the matter came before that body the question was asked, "What does it mean?" and he was requested to explain the matter to the Conference as he understood it. In answer to that request he said, that there did not seem to be any proposition to modify any thing connected with the episcopacy we now have, but to *create a new kind of episcopacy*, with limitations both local and otherwise. To this nobody objected, and the Conference voted, substantially unanimously, to concur. So far as we have ever heard, that was the view of the subject generally entertained in the Church, and because of that understanding it was ratified without any serious opposition.

The General Conference had provided that, in case of the ratification of the proposed action, the Liberia Conference might elect a Bishop; and, the Missionary Secretary and the Bishop having charge concurring, the Bishops might formally set him apart to his office. Rev. Francis Burns was accordingly elected in January, 1858, and consecrated the following October; and soon afterward he returned to Africa and presided over the Liberia Conference in January, 1859, and continued in the work until his death in 1863. The General Conference of 1864 authorized the Liberia Conference to elect a successor to Bishop Burns, and, accordingly, Rev. J. W. Roberts was so chosen in 1866, and, coming to New York the

same year, he was duly consecrated, and at once returned to his field of labor. In January, 1875, he also died, and his place was not filled till the session of the General Conference for 1884, when Rev. William Taylor was elected by that body itself, and consecrated at the same time with the regular Bishops, *but by a different formula.* A fact of some legal significance is seen in the method by which Bishops Burns and Roberts were chosen; that is, by the Liberia Conference, and not by the General Conference, as is provided in the case of the regular Bishops; for it is certain that that body is not competent to relegate so high and delicate a duty to any other body. Certainly the General Conference has no right to order any one or more of the Annual Conferences to elect a Bishop, who, having been properly consecrated, shall thus become one of the General Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The fact that it provided for the election of a Missionary Bishop for Africa by another body is proof positive that the office so to be filled was not looked upon as the same as that which can be filled only by "the election of the General Conference." A special law, enacted for that purpose, empowers it to authorize the election of a Missionary Bishop by some other body, as was done in the cases of Burns and Roberts; or, acting in its own authority, it can make its own choice, as it did in the case of Bishop Taylor.

It must be borne in mind that the General Conference of 1884 made no change whatever, neither by new enactments nor by amendments, in the law respecting Missionary Bishops, and that Bishop Taylor's election was subject to the same legal conditions with those of Bishops Burns and Roberts, though made by the General Conference itself instead of by another body acting under its authority; and the office of a Missionary Bishop for Africa, with William Taylor for its incumbent, is precisely the same that it was when it was held by Francis Burns or J. W. Roberts. In the administration of the missionary office the entire Liberia Conference is considered and treated as a missionary field, and every member of that body, and the Bishop, when it has one, is tacitly and formally accounted a missionary. Accordingly, the support of both Bishops Burns and Roberts was drawn from the missionary treasury, and, obviously, that of Bishop Taylor must come from the same source.*

The Methodist Episcopal Church has no work or field in Africa except in Liberia; nor has it projected any other, and, accordingly, in the strict sense the name of Africa as applied to that work, as under the authority of the Church, can mean only the Liberia Conference. But that Conference has only one boundary line—the western coast-line of the continent; eastward and southward and northward it has no local limitations, and it extends just as far as its work may go, anywhere between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, and from the Mediterranean to the Antarctic Sea. If, then, Bishop Taylor or any of his co-laborers shall, under God, make converts and found churches anywhere in the Dark continent, such churches will constitute integral parts of the Liberia Conference, and any traveling

* See Journal of General Conference for 1856, page 177, Resolution 4.

preachers sent out to such interior work must belong to that body. As every regular Bishop, if accused of immoral conduct, may be called to account by the presiding elder within whose district the immorality is said to have been committed, and may by him, with the aid of at least four traveling elders, be subjected to preliminary proceedings preparatory to a trial, so, by the analogy of the case, a Missionary Bishop must be treated, as far as may be, in the same way within his own field. And although there is good reason to hope that this provision of law will not be called into use, yet, as it is according to the genius of Methodism that all of its ministers and members shall be subject to law and responsible for their behavior, it is needful that the legal relations and responsibilities of a Missionary Bishop should be clearly understood.* During the hundred years of the existence of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church no one of its Bishops has been so charged, and yet the legislation made and provided for such a contingency is not at all a dead letter.

The nature and legal relations of the missionary episcopacy was pretty thoroughly discussed at the late General Conference—first, and most fully, in the Committee on Episcopacy, and afterward in the open Conference; and in both places it was clearly stated—and the statement was not called in question—that the episcopacy under consideration was altogether distinct and different from the regular and constitutional episcopacy of the Church. While this subject was before the General Conference, and the chairman of the Committee on the Episcopacy was presenting the action of that Committee, he was requested to indicate clearly his views of the nature of the office in question, when he replied: "*It is that of the superintendent of a mission clothed with certain definite episcopal functions;*" and to that statement no exception was taken. With that view of the subject before it, the General Conference voted with great unanimity to elect a Missionary Bishop for Africa, and the same day William Taylor was elected, and consecrated a day later, as *a Missionary Bishop for Africa*. He is, therefore, a Bishop, but of a different kind from that of a regular and constitutional Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and should some future General Conference desire his service in the latter office it would be necessary that he should be elected and consecrated as all others are, and without respect to the missionary episcopacy in which he now stands.

The relations of the two episcopacies to each other, and the powers of each, jointly or severally, may require a passing notice. If, as has been shown, the addition made to the third restrictive rule relative to the appointment of "a Missionary Bishop" does not empower the General Conference, in any wise, to change or destroy the "plan" of the General Itinerant Superintendency, then the authority of the regular episcopacy is unabridged, and co-extensive with the Church's field of action; and no act of the General Conference could make it otherwise.† In every place, therefore, in which the Methodist Episcopal Church has a local existence,

* See Journal of General Conference for 1856, page 177, Resolution 3.

† *Ibid.*, page 147, Resolution 2.

there, by the very nature of the "plan," which makes the superintendency general and itinerant, its authority is paramount in respect to episcopal jurisdiction; but in the absence of any and all of the constitutional Bishops, a Missionary Bishop may, within his proper field, perform all requisite episcopal duties. Nor does it appear but that the General Conference might, by a simple resolve, confer the same power upon any superintendent of a foreign missionary field.

The office of a Missionary Bishop is somewhat anomalous in the working machinery of the Church, though perhaps it is a necessity in the absence of some more thorough and adequate disposition of the relations of our foreign work to the home Church and its administration. It is at best only a make-shift, a temporary and imperfect arrangement designed to meet the requirements of the work until better and more complete arrangements shall be brought into use, which, it may be hoped, will not be unduly delayed.

Within his own field, and for the work committed to him, Bishop Taylor's powers are ample and largely subject to his own discretion; and there is ground to hope that he will use them to good purpose. His enterprise has evidently touched the heart of the Church, and a warm response has been elicited. A little enthusiasm, verging slightly to wildness, may not be, in such a work, entirely out of place. It is better to incur the risk of a little unwisdom, by excess of zeal, than to lie idle through overmuch prudence. For fifty years the Church has been professedly essaying to establish missions among the millions of Africa's heathen tribes; and still the work is to be begun. May it not be well, then, to allow Bishop Taylor and his associates to go about the work in their own way? At one stage of the late war of the rebellion it is said that Secretary Stanton complained to the President that General Grant was transcending his orders and would not obey instructions. Mr. Lincoln's response was worthy of the man and the occasion: "I have tried to carry on this war, and have failed; and you, Mr. Secretary, have tried, and you have failed; now, perhaps, it will be wise for us to let General Grant try it." So we say respecting this African missionary work: let Bishop Taylor and his associates try their hands upon it, and the Church will follow them with prayers and blessings, and not without large, though trembling, hopes for their success. And should the scheme of "self-support" prove a fallacy—as probably it will, at least in part—then the Church will not fail to provide, according to her legitimate methods, for whatever emergencies may arise. Already the Missionary Board has voted Bishop Taylor a salary twice as large as what was ever given to either of his predecessors, and, no doubt, any other cases that may arise will receive equally just and generous treatment. Practically the principle of "self-support" has been abandoned in respect to Africa, wisely so, we think, in favor of the "Pauline" methods, by which the Gospel was at first carried to the Gentiles. But it may be hoped that its abandonment will be only temporary, or at least that among the Christian duties that shall be taught the churches in Africa will be that of caring for themselves.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL HYMNS AND MUSIC.

The "Sunday School Times" not long ago presented to its readers, apparently from the pen of the editor, a very suggestive article on the general subject of Sunday-school hymns and music. It was in the form of a series of ordinary book notices, with the titles of twenty-three books, recently published, devoted to the subject, which list might have been considerably extended by additional titles of other books published within the period covered by the appearance of those given. With his characteristic disposition to find something to commend in each work noticed, the writer professes to be not at all dismayed by this remarkable fecundity of the Sunday-school Muse. He recognizes a decided improvement in this department as to both its literature and its art since it first made its appearance in the not remote past—an advance in good taste in both the poetry and the music used in that class of works. It is less than half a century since books of the kind here noticed began to be published, and the contrast between the earliest of their kind and the better class of their successors of the present time, is alike remarkable and gratifying. Composers and compilers have become more proficient in their calling, and publishers have aimed to produce better works; and, better still, the public taste has steadily advanced, until it now demands something far in advance of what was once tolerated.

The progress in this department of arts is marked with certain noteworthy facts, which are both curious and instructive. The making of books of this class has become a department of productive industry, the supply naturally responding to the demand; and because those that have appeared have usually proved unacceptable as soon as the charm of novelty was gone, the demand for more has been perpetual and insatiable. But, as the store of ready-made materials was very limited, and the stock generally of a poor quality, there arose a wide demand for original matter both of words and music, and so each bookmaker was compelled to play the part of a hymn-wright and a musical tinker; and it is only an act of justice to grant that the work done has been better than might have been anticipated. An improvised work of art is seldom of marked excellence, and such creations, if made to order, seldom measure up to a high standard; and yet, during all these years, while Sunday-school songs and song-books have come and gone like the changes of the moon, there has still been a perceptible improvement in the later over the earlier—another illustration of nature's great law of "the survival of the fittest." Tried by any correct principles of criticism, the "service of song" in our Sunday-schools must be assigned an unelevated place. The hymnody, though not so bad as it was in the early days of Sunday-schools, is still very imperfect in both thought and structure; and the music, which is much better than that which it has replaced, is still scarcely up to the level at which criticism must begin. These manifest deficiencies are indeed the necessary results of the prevailing lack of taste and culture in

respect to both poetry and music among the people generally. The supply has answered to the demand, and because the public taste has not required any thing better, and because the caterers to that taste have had nothing better to offer, only defective specimens have appeared; and yet, because the artistically faulty very soon ceases to please even the uncultivated taste, there has been a steady demand for new books, both hymns and tunes; and, since there was "money in it," the supply has been equally steady and increasingly abundant. And yet we are assured that in the face of all these unfavorable conditions there has been a steady advance in the quality and character of both the hymns and the music.

Those who have had some knowledge of the secular songs and melodies of fifty years ago, know very well the pedigree of a large share of the most popular of the songs of the Sunday-schools. The refrains of returning troubadours, old English ballads, and some of the once favorite Scotch-border songs, variously mutilated and transformed, reappear in countless variations, but still bearing unmistakable evidences of their origin. Not a few of the popular "spiritual" songs heard in our Sunday-schools are well known to be old songs—of love, heroism, drinking and battle and hunting songs—only slightly parodied, or rather travestied, and, as is usual with such productions, the changes, as to style and thought, have usually been for the worse. It is probably supposed (though quite incorrectly) that Sunday-school people will know nothing of folk's lore and border minstrelsy, and that it is therefore altogether the right thing to exercise them on "Auld Lang Syne" and "The Soldier's Return" and "The Braes of Balquidder," *et id omne genus*, with a very few of the words of the once popular songs, indicated by those titles, so changed as to seem to give to the "hymns" a *quasi* religious expression. It is curious, if not edifying, to trace the shreds and the colorings of these once famous pieces, both the poetry and the music, as they continually crop out in scraps and shreds in some poetical image or the stave of a melody in these "religious" song manuals—the old and profane wrought into the sacred—much as the heathen art of Greece and Rome was utilized in mediæval ecclesiastical architecture and embellishments.

The financial profitableness of the trade in books of this kind results not only in the production of a multitude of separate compilations, it has also originated a properly-manned profession of hymn and tune makers, some of whom have attained to very considerable proficiency in their art. With only moderate natural aptitudes one may, by practice, acquire a ready facility in verse-making and in spinning light melodies; and one, two, or three hundred such fitted together and bound up in a volume and happily (or otherwise) named, claims its place in the hymnody of the Sunday-school. The readers of our modern Church hymnals must be struck with the fact that not unfrequently some well-known hymn appears as the sole production of its author, whose name would have been hopelessly forgotten but for that one production. It is found, however, by tracing such pieces back to their origin, that they originally appeared, each as one of a collection of hundreds of so-called hymns, all by the same writer.

And the thought is thus suggested, that not a few well-filled volumes have sunk into oblivion, with the names of their authors, for want of a single piece that the world chose to remember. And there is comfort in the thought thus suggested in respect to these modern collections. In the absence of standard hymn-books for public worship, which are a comparatively recent institution, these sporadic clusters of religious doggerels often found their places in the services of the Churches, especially so if the author was himself a minister, and still more if he was the head of a coterie or a school of religious thought and action. And so with our juvenile song-books; because there are no generally accepted standards, each hymn-wright and tune-spinner manufactures his own wares, and, with the help of his publisher, pushes them into use. That these are "only born to die"—the best of them destined to wither as the grass or to fall away as the leaves in autumn—may be safely predicted; and yet even these, as the succeeding generations come and go, show some advancement toward a higher standard; the joint result of better skill in the manufacturers and better taste in those who use such productions.

It is gratifying to notice that some of those who have undertaken to supply the public with this class of wares indicate a suspicion that there is something not altogether unworthy of their attention in the good old hymns that were used by their fathers and mothers. Occasionally some old favorite is taken bodily and set to a jingling melody, with a long caudal appendage in the shape of a chorus or refrain, made up of meaningless repetitions of platitudes. Again, some specially cherished hymn is taken and revamped, using both its language and its imagery in new and strange combinations, usually ending with some sort of ding-dong finial. In this kind of application one may meet and recognize, despite their grotesque settings, such universal favorites as "Rock of ages," "Jesus, lover of my soul," "O happy day, that fixed my choice," and others of like character. The taste that leads to such selections, though still very wide of the correct standard, indicates a hopeful feeling after something really excellent, which it detects in the pieces it so mars and mangles in its endeavors to bring them within its own faulty range. If not turned aside, there is cause to hope that it will at length rise to something more worthy of its aspirations. In order to give a better tone to their poetry, these hymn-wrights sometimes draw largely upon both the Oriental imagery of the Bible and also upon external nature. In recent productions there seems to have been a less liberal use of the machinery of the Apocalypse than prevailed in former times, but, instead, we have a superabundance of "spicy breezes" and "shining shores," of groves and palms, of birds and flowers, and all the scenery and furniture of "Beulah Land," such as Bunyan never dreamed about. These, however, mark a stage in the transition of the public taste from the low level of the past toward the better ideal yet to be realized, of which realization they are indeed the prophecy, perhaps the partially assured promise.

The place now assigned to the "service of song" in the Sunday-schools

is a comparatively recent concession, previous to which there was not much singing in them, and that little was identical with that used in public worship. There were some decided advantages in this (as well as great disadvantages), especially in the fact that by that process the memories of the children became stored with forms of language of a high degree of literary excellence, and conveying the purest and loftiest religious thoughts. The modern Sunday-school, as an agency for religious instruction, falls very far below that of the former times, on account of its disuse of the Catechism, and by its substitution of the fashionable lighter songs that have replaced those formerly in use. And yet this latter change was evidently a necessity, and though its results may have been evil in some important particulars, still, as there can be no going back to the old and discarded methods, the remedy must be sought by improving that now in use. And here there are encouraging signs of better things. No doubt the musical taste of the people is perceptibly though only slowly improving, and so calling for a higher standard of music than has sufficed in the past; and of this both the book-makers and the publishers are quick to take notice. It may require the life-time of a generation to get rid of the trashy matter that has so long occupied the field, and which has largely molded the public taste to its own faulty conceptions; but these will surely give way before the better models which are already appearing. Neither hymns nor tunes that can answer to the requirements of good taste can be made to order; they spring into being spontaneously by a sort of non-volitional inspiration; and when they appear they are recognized and confessed by all whose tastes have not been corrupted by false teaching. But such hymns, with all requisite adaptations for the use of children, are now abundant in the poetical literature of the Church; nor has the gift of sacred song entirely departed. The outlook, therefore, is hopeful, though we still view the goodly heritage far away in the future.

PRESBYTERIAN PEDOBAPTISM.

Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, of Brooklyn, is well known as a clear and forcible writer, but he seems to have exceeded his own average in his article on "The Baptism of Infants," which appeared in the "Presbyterian Review" for January. He is also known to be a Presbyterian of the "straitest sect" or section, and hitherto he has been accounted a Calvinist; but the paper referred to renders that fact very uncertain if tested by the clear meaning of the "standards." He is, however, a pedobaptist, according to the popular signification of that word, though not unlikely he would object to the term, as indicating a special kind, while he insists—and all will agree with him—that there is only "one baptism," whose identity is not changed by its application to different classes of persons. His objection to such phrases as "*infant* baptism," "*adult*

baptism," and "*believers'* baptism," though urged with some earnestness, do not seem especially weighty, as it must be obvious that the several substantive-adjectives found one in each of these phrases do not qualify the common substantive-noun, but only express its relations to the different classes of persons indicated by the nouns-predicate. No intelligent person will fail to perceive that the phrase "infant baptism" is identical in its significance with "the baptism of infants," though the latter form of words may excel in fullness of expression, but at the cost of compactness and brevity.

The writer's design seems to be chiefly to assert and defend from Scripture and the writings of the early Fathers the practice of admitting infants to baptism, and then to explain the doctrinal theory, as entertained by Presbyterians, upon which it rests. On the former division of the discussion, to which his paper is principally devoted, all who agree with his views will think that his arguments are not only incisive, but also decisive; and those who dissent will find that he has given them no inconsiderable job by way of restoring the breaches made by his artillery.

It is well known that the anti-pedobaptists rely very largely, in their argument against the practice referred to, on the absence of any direct proof in the New Testament of its recognition by the apostles, and that such silence on the subject is conceded by those of the opposite side, and accounted for in what is assumed to be a satisfactory manner. But after very briefly referring to that form of argument, the review changes front, and, ceasing to stand on the defensive, carries the war into the positions of the enemy. The argument based upon this silence is assumed by the opposers of the baptism of infants to be conclusively fatal; against which determination, however, the other side presents what many will esteem an altogether satisfactory contra-argument. Reduced to the form of a syllogism, the anti-pedobaptists' argument first assumes that no doctrine or practice not explicitly taught in the New Testament can be accepted as duly authenticated; and next it is asserted that "the practice of infant baptism is not so taught." These two positions constitute the major and the minor premises of the syllogism, and if accepted as correct the conclusion is inevitable, that the indicated doctrine and practice are without scriptural warrant.

This may seem conclusive; but if tried in another case it may not be so convenient. If, with the same major premise, in the place of the above minor, we substitute "The practice of admitting women to the Lord's Supper is not explicitly taught in the New Testament," we shall reach the unwelcome conclusion that there is no scriptural warrant for admitting women to the Lord's table, and therefore it should not be allowed.

The same form of argument, it is also shown, would be fatal to the divine authority of the Christian Sabbath, and to marriage as a religious ordinance. The argument from the silence of Scripture on any given subject must therefore be given up, because, if insisted on, it proves altogether too much, and also because, if applied, as it has been, in respect to baptism of infants, it must also apply in like manner in all similar cases.

The argument drawn from the language of Christ's commission to his apostles, to "teach all nations," in which, according to this argument from silence, baptism is restricted to them that believe, may be disposed of in the same way; that is, since only believers may be baptized, and infants cannot believe, therefore infants are not proper subjects for baptism. But this form of reasoning applied in the same case, with the change of a single word, would bring us to a rather undesirable result; for it is added, "He that believeth not shall be damned;" and therefore, since infants do not and cannot believe, they must necessarily be damned.

But since nobody will accept this last conclusion, so must this whole form of reasoning be rejected, and we are brought to the conclusion that the silence of the New Testament in respect to any specific practice or rule of discipline in the apostolic Church, is itself scarcely a presumptive proof against such a practice or rule, and that it is wholly worthless in the face of implications or indirect suggestions to the contrary; and it is further claimed that with such implications both the New Testament and the history and literature of the early Church abound. The oldest post-apostolical church history presents the practices of Christian marriage, of "Lord's day" observance, of admitting women to the holy communion, and the baptism of infants, as in general use in the Church, and all are recognized as of apostolical authority; and this being the state of the case, the anti-pedobaptists are put upon the defensive, with the whole burden of proving their position resting on their hands. Our reviewer, however, goes into the arena and aggressively contests the ground with his antagonists in a rapid but comprehensive statement of the arguments drawn from the unity and solidarity of the human race, the nature and perpetuity of the Abrahamic covenant, the substantial unity, in nature and design, of circumcision and baptism, and the close relations of the family and the Church, all showing that the work of Christ was wrought out for aggregate humanity, in which considerations of individualism are subordinated to the common rights and interests of the race. In this part of his argument the writer displays a decided leaning to *churchism*, a tendency that has recently manifested itself in certain unusual quarters.

All who sympathize with the opinions which Dr. Van Dyke so ably and earnestly asserts and defends will agree in saying that in these few pages he has completely vindicated his positions; but in the application of his principles, in actual church work among the conditions and traditions of his own Church, he evidently finds his path not altogether free from difficulties. He escapes from the obstacle imposed by the doctrine of predestination, which distinguished infants as "elect" and "non-elect," by quietly disregarding that discrimination, so very clearly and strongly marked in his accepted standards, and which doctrine is an essential part of the remarkably compact structure of Calvinistic theology, and by assuming that all infants belong to Christ; and, therefore, any dying in infancy will assuredly be saved. The natural, and indeed necessary, inference from that position would seem to be, that since all infants are

embraced in the Abrahamic covenant, of which Christ himself is now the manifested Mediator, they should receive its sign and seal. Nor is this denied, but rather conceded, as to their original title by the reviewer, and yet, for obvious reasons, he contends, very justly we think, that it is not lawful to dispense the ordinance without proper discriminations. The question, "What infants is it lawful to baptize?" is, therefore, a practical one, and not without its perplexities. Our reviewer encounters these difficulties, especially intensified in the language of the Westminster Confession and Catechism, which, contemplating the whole theory and system of the Gospel in the light of the "divine decrees," shut up this special privilege of the Church to "those who do actually profess faith and obedience to Christ," and "*also* infants of one or both believing parents." But why all these and none else is not altogether clear.

The reviewer ingenuously confesses that as a Christian pastor he finds himself somewhat at a loss in respect to his official duty, and especially so as to the condition in which the matter stands in the Presbyterian Church. "It throws upon the minister the responsibility of deciding in every case whether those who ask for the baptism of their children are members of the visible Church and make a credible profession of faith;" and here it may well be asked, What is the scriptural standard by which to determine such cases? Very frankly the good doctor confesses his perplexity, and also tells us how he cuts the knot that he cannot untie:

> After much study of this question the writer has come deliberately to the conclusion to baptize the children of all who have themselves been baptized, who have never repudiated their covenanted obligations, and who, at the time of the administration of the ordinance, are prepared to make a credible profession of their faith in and obedience to Christ. . . . If any parents will deceitfully or carelessly make such a confession and assume such vows, the accountability is on them, not on us.

This may probably be understood as substantially the practice of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, and in it they assume whatever may be its legitimate doctrinal implications. Dr. Hodge, in his great work on theology, grants that "the sacraments are to be confined to the members of the Church;" but he immediately adds that the Church "includes all those who, having been baptized, have not forfeited their membership by scandalous living or by an act of church discipline;" and here again appears the peculiar form of *churchism* before referred to, according to which a succession of baptized unbelievers and practical reprobates may transmit by inheritance, through any number of successive generations, a special and peculiar right to the privileges of the Christian covenant. The end reached may be all right, but the process is not so well made out and justified.

We have watched with very great interest, induced by a lively and decidedly friendly sympathy, the recent movements of the great minds of the noble Presbyterian Church, and listened to their utterances, while making the transition from the wilderness of ultra-Calvinism, in which their predecessors so long wandered, into the Promised Land, in which we are

now happy to greet them. We are aware of the superficial character of many of the popular, and, perhaps, practically the most effective, objections to their moribund system of doctrine, and are quite ready to concede that within the range of natural reason the logical positions of high Calvinism are impregnable, and that all attempts to soften down its so-called asperities, and to reconstruct the system on some other logical basis, must be egregious and manifest failures. And yet every body knows—and most people are glad of it—that the great body of the Presbyterian ministers have ceased to teach, and their people to hold, the distinctive doctrines of that system, as they stood forth and were recognized from the time of Augustine down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The doctrinal *status* of the Presbyterian pulpit of to-day, and of its current literature, is quite as far from that of the Synod of Dort or of the Westminster Assembly, as was that of Arminius and the early Remonstrants, or of Wesley and his associates and followers. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the theology of Methodism is not more conservative of all that was really valuable in the old school Calvinism (and of that there was very much) than are any of the modified forms of that system, which though apparently careful to retain the husk, seem to be quite ready to give up the kernel. Dr. Van Dyke tells us, at the close of his discussion, that "The salvation of any soul turns ultimately upon the gracious counsel of the divine will," which is a great and precious truth, but not the whole truth, and half-truths are often the worst kind of untruths. To save that sentence from that censure it should have inserted in it, after the word "ultimately," the qualifying clause, "but not unconditionally." The "means" of personal salvation, of which baptism is a not unimportant item, are divinely appointed, and if properly used they will prove effective ; but they may be neglected or perverted, and so the end itself defeated.

METHODISTIC VIEWS RESPECTING INFANT BAPTISM.

At the end of the seventeenth of the twenty-five "Articles of Religion," which to some degree represent the doctrinal *stutus* of American Methodism, occurs the sentence: "The baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church." This injunction may seem to require a fuller presentation of the doctrinal basis and the purport of what is enjoined, and also fuller practical instruction respecting the conditions to be considered in obeying it. Possibly some will say that there is a lack of understanding and appreciation of this subject among us; but, if so, the fault must lie with those whose offices and relations bring them into contact with the average thinking of the people—the pulpit, the Sunday-school, and the periodical press. The Church's literature on the subject, both in its general treatises and in works specifically devoted to the subject, is sufficient to answer all reasonable requirements, and the utterances of these works give no uncertain sound.

It is scarcely to be questioned that Mr. Wesley was all his life-time a believer in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. His "Treatise on Baptism" (see Works, vol. vi, pp. 12–22, Amer. ed.), which he several times revised, and which, as it now appears, he made in his celebrated Poll-deed the unalterable doctrinal standard of his "Societies," is capable of no other interpretation. His words are: "By baptism, we who were 'by nature children of wrath' are made the children of God. And this is more than barely being admitted into the Church; being grafted into the body of Christ's Church we are made the children of God by adoption and grace. . . . Herein a principle of grace is infused which will not be wholly taken away, unless we quench the Holy Spirit of God by long-continued wickedness." "In consequence of being made children of God (by baptism) we are heirs to the kingdom of heaven," and "supposing this, as it admits us into the Church here, so into glory hereafter."

It should be noticed that Mr. Wesley clearly distinguished between the ceremony of baptism and the spiritual grace of which it is, as he believed, the infallible condition and procuring cause; for he states expressly, and without qualification, that "the outward baptism is a *means* (not simply a *sign*, nor only a *condition*) of the inward." He also concedes, and seems to concur with the position, that the Church of England "supposes that all who are baptized in their infancy, are, at the same time, born again." And in the same sermon from which this last passage is taken he defines his meaning of the words "born again" as indicating "that great change which God works in the soul when he brings it into life, . . . the change wrought in the whole soul by the almighty Spirit of God . . . when it is 'renewed after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness.'" It is plain, then, that the author of the "Treatise on Baptism" and of the sermon on the "New Birth" (No. xlv) was, at their writing, a believer in baptismal regeneration; and as both these compositions were incorporated into the doctrinal basis ordained to be held in perpetuity by his "Societies," it is evident that he died in the same faith.

It is certain, however, that Mr. Wesley's views and opinions on this subject were never fully accepted by his followers—not even those in Great Britain, and still less by the Methodists of this country. Mr. Watson, whose "Institutes" is accepted as a faithful embodiment of Wesleyan Methodist theology in both countries, thus states the case, historically: "As held by the Romanists, the hereditary corruption of our nature, and all actual sins committed before baptism, are entirely removed by it;" and "in this notion of regeneration, or the washing away of original sin by baptism, the Roman Church followed Augustine. . . . The Lutheran Church also places the efficacy of the sacrament (of baptism) in regeneration, by which faith is actually conveyed to the soul of the infant;" and "the Church of England . . . has not departed entirely from the terms used by the Church of Rome." His own view, with large illustrations drawn from the Abrahamic covenant, is condensed, as to its results, in a few concise sentences: "Baptism, as a *sign* of the new (the Christian) covenant, corresponds to circumcision (in the old). Like that, its admin-

istration is a constant exhibition of the placability of God to man; like that, it is the initiatory rite into a covenant which promises pardon and salvation to a true faith, of which it is the outward profession; like that, it is the symbol of regeneration, the washing away of sin, and 'the renewing of the Holy Ghost;' and, like that, it is a sign of peculiar relation to God, Christians becoming, in consequence [of what it symbolizes?] 'a chosen generation—a peculiar people'—his *Church* on earth as distinguished from *the world.*'" Here is certainly no "baptismal regeneration" *ex opere operato*, though room is given for the inference that the act of baptism performed in faith, whether upon an adult or child, may be not altogether without attendant spiritual advantages, and that even the "unconscious infant" may be spiritually profited by the sacrament so given and received.

In Dr. Pope's "Christian Theology," which seems to be accepted as the standard of the Methodist orthodoxy of the present day, though perhaps the author is a little less removed from the older sacramentarianism than most of his co-religionists, the subject, as viewed by "many," evidently including the writer himself, is thus summarized: "By many the regeneration of the soul is regarded as *sacramentally pledged and promised* in virtue of the general grace bestowed upon mankind in redemption. Baptism is, therefore, a sign of the blessing into which *preliminary* grace is to mature; and the seal [the assured pledge] of its bestowment if that preliminary grace is used aright. . . . In this scheme regeneration stands connected with all the blessings of the Christian covenant, and baptism is not more intimately allied with the new birth than with remission of sins and sanctification to God. . . . Children baptized are externally [provisionally?] pardoned, adopted, and made holy; the internal reality corresponding to these is sealed to them by the preliminary grace that belongs to the family of redeemed man. . . . Baptism in this doctrine, which, carefully stated, is irrefragible, is the sign and seal, and the *instrument* [as an aid to faith] *to adult believers* of their pardon and renewal and sanctification." The above, especially as we have annotated it, by italics and bracketed comments, presents, we believe, about the form of the doctrinal conception generally accepted and taught by the best Methodist thinkers, both British and American. Only a few years ago the British Wesleyans adopted a revised ritual, including a baptismal service, from which every form of words that could be construed to favor baptismal regeneration, or sacramental efficacy *ex opere operato*, was carefully eliminated.

In the same paragraph from which the above quoted sentences are taken, the author indicates a limitation of the applicability of the benefits of this sacrament to a specific class of infants described by their relations, to the implied exclusion of all others. He continues: "To the *children of believers* it is the sign and seal, and the instrument of imparting these blessings, so far as they are capable of them. . . . If what may be loosely called the germ of grace is regeneration in the infant, then it becomes new birth in the adult." This limitation of the privilege of baptism to the children of believers runs through much of the later Protestant teaching

on this subject, but just what is the authority for it is not so obvious. In the older Calvinistic creeds, in which the discrimination of little children as "elect infants," and, by silent implication, "non-elect," which means children reprobated from their mother's womb, it was according to reason that only the presumptively elect should receive the sign of the covenant of grace; and because it was held by them, as by the Anglicans, that "the baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church," following the sentiment of parental affection without any ground in reason, and in the absence of any Scripture warrant, it was kindly assumed that "the children of believers," and only such, might be baptized. But why any who holds the doctrine of a universal redemption provided by the death and resurrection of Christ should so limit that privilege, is not so apparent. If every soul is redeemed, is not every one entitled to the "sign and seal" of his redemption? A limitation of the use of baptism may be argued where there is a manifest ~~im~~possibility that the Church should fulfill the duties that it assumes in its administration; but these conditions are not determined with certainty by the child's parentage. Children of believing parents are sometimes found in circumstances that preclude the possibility of Christian nurture; and should such be baptized? And not infrequently, through Christian beneficence, children of the most godless parents are found among the most favorable conditions; and may not such receive the sacrament of their redemption?

The position of the Methodist Episcopal Church on this subject is expressed both very clearly and equally felicitously, though even in its utterance there is one point that needs to be explained; that is, What is to be done for unbaptized children? seeing that what is directed to be done applies exclusively to the "baptized." The forty-ninth paragraph of the "Methodist Discipline" presents this whole subject both affirmatively and with the requisite discriminations, and remotely with just practical limitations. In it the Church declares: "We hold that *all children*, by virtue of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, ARE *members of the kingdom of God*, and, therefore, graciously entitled to baptism; but as infant baptism contemplates a course of religious instruction and discipline, it is expected of all parents or guardians who present their children for baptism, that they will use all diligence in [order to] bringing them up in conformity to the word of God; and they should be solemnly admonished of this obligation, and earnestly exhorted to faithfulness therein." This is a noble utterance, and worthy of the great evangelical body which makes it. It claims "all children" for Christ and his Church, not simply "elect infants," or "children of believers," simply because they are Christ's "by the unconditional benefits of the atonement." Christ's ministers are bound to so consider them, and, whenever permitted, to extend to them the Church's ministries, of which baptism is an eminent part, and also the divinely-ordained symbol and pledge of all the rest. But the Church's ordinances should not be separated from its "instruction and discipline," and, therefore, an indiscriminate baptizing of infants would be a profanation; and, accordingly, proper assurances are required that the children to

be baptized shall receive the requisite religious care and discipline. In this brief declaration is comprised the entire theory of Methodism in respect to the relations of young children to Christ and the Gospel, and of their place and privileges in the visible Church.

But after making this grand and comprehensive declaration of God's impartial love to all, without respect to conditions and circumstances, the very next paragraph makes what seems to be a strange discrimination: "All children who have received baptism" are regarded "as placed in visible relations to God, and under the special care and supervision of the Church," which is all very well; but how about those that have not received baptism? There seems to be here an implication by the law of exclusion by omission, that the Church's duties extend only to those who come formally within the covenant of the Gospel. But in many cases the baptized children constitute the lesser part of those to whom the ministries of the Church in the form of "instruction and discipline" may extend; and is there, then, no obligation to care for those of that majority? We are happy to know that the practice of the Church is more comprehensive than this one of her rescripts would imply. We do not say that no special care should be directed to those to whom the Church has given the signature of the covenant of grace; but we say emphatically, that because all children are Christ's by the purchase of his blood, the duties of ministers and of the whole Church extend to all; and that, without respect to parentage or race, or hereditary faith or unfaith, in every case where there is good reason to believe that the child can be duly subjected to "a course of religious instruction and discipline," it is right and proper that such a child shall be baptized.

This conception of the moral character and spiritual relations of young children, as implied in their baptism, is in harmony with the fundamental theological position of Methodism. The ritual for "The Ministration of Baptism to Infants" opens with the recognition of the fact that "all men are conceived and born in sin," and that another, a spiritual birth, is a prerequisite to admission to "the kingdom of God," all of which is in perfect harmony with the article (vii) "Of Original or Birth Sin." The "kingdom of God," as that term is here used, evidently implies a state of spiritual regeneration; but there is also an important sense in which every soul born into the world is "of the kingdom of God;" and for that reason they are entitled to baptism. In "Clarke's Commentary" (revised edition) on Matthew xix, 14, is this note: "The 'kingdom of heaven,' in its original purpose and in its actual scope, as the gift of the Father to the Messiah, comprehended all souls (Psa. ii, 8), and accordingly all were redeemed by Christ's blood simply as members of the human family; therefore 'little children' are of the kingdom of heaven; and because they are Christ's they should be brought to him, by whatever process or methods redeemed souls are taken out of the *world*, and formally united to the *Church;* and because they are of the Church, they are entitled to its proper watch-care and nurture, together (as far as they are applicable) with its most sacred ordinances." The title of children to baptism has no reference to

their moral fitness as some have argued (see Mercein's "Natural Goodness"), but the opposite is steadily implied; nor is it supposed that any properly moral or spiritual change accompanies, or is *directly* procured, by baptism. In his own nature the child is the same after that he was before baptism.

And now some one may ask, "What advantage, then, hath the *christened* child, or what profit is there in baptism?" And the answer is precisely the same that the apostle rendered in a parallel case: "Much every way; chiefly because unto them are committed the oracles of God." Baptism is valuable to its subject, not so much for its direct influences upon his spiritual character as for the "course of religious instruction and discipline" which it "contemplates," and which is pledged to him by his parents or guardians, and by the Church at his baptism. The risen Christ commissions his apostles to *proselyte* "all the nations"—that is, all mankind—which, beyond reasonable question, included all children, and baptism was to be the sign of their initiation into Christ's family—being taken out of the world. The Master gave that sign, to be used upon all whom his servants should "disciple," and it is for them to *obey*—not to *reason why*, though the command is obviously a reasonable one. Nor is it impossible, nor indeed improbable, that not inconsiderable spiritual advantages may come to the baptized as results of the new conditions and relations into which they are brought. Baptism is itself an act of faith to which God will have respect, and which he may honor by special providential watch-care, and the better disposition of circumstances for the salvation of the soul, so favorably placed within the covenant of mercy; and larger measures of the Spirit, and of the universal grace that brings salvation, may be expected for "those that be planted in the house of the Lord"—that they may "flourish in the courts of our God." And so, considering the subject, Methodists are fully convinced that "the baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church."

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

The European Outlook.—The Protestant Churches of Germany have begun the year with renewed vigor, and the general outlook is good for active and practical work. The several Synods have made a general movement toward the matter of increasing the income of the working pastors, and propose to go to the general government with petitions to that effect. There is also a great desire shown to have a reform in Sabbath observance, which is now very lax; efforts will be made to induce a reduced service on the railroads and in postal matters on the Lord's day, and the places of public entertainment are likely all to be closed, at least during the hours of church service. In addition to this, there is also a great desire among the churches to have a better preparation in the candidates for the pulpit; measures are being adopted to secure that end.

In Austria a host of petitions has been sent to the government in favor of schools for Protestant children, and it is believed that the emperor favors the measure, and will soon give his assent to a bill in parliament that will satisfy the large number now without school privileges except with the condition of Catholic training. In Hungary there is much complaint that, while in the House of Magnates there are representatives of the Catholic and the Greek Churches, the Protestant Church has no voice. A bill will likely soon come up granting to the Evangelical Church six members—three from the clergy and three from the laity.

The Swiss are still fighting the Salvation Army and the Mormons—with more zeal than judgment, we fear—and at the same time they are trying to cure some of the worst wounds caused by the "Kultur-Kampf." In the diocese of Basle the destroyed bishopric is about to be restored, and in Ticino an episcopal vicariate will probably soon be established. The annual convention of the Reformed Association will be held this year in Geneva, in the month of August. The subjects for discussion on this occasion and the speakers are already appointed. At the same time the three hundred and fiftieth birthday of the Reformation will be celebrated also in Geneva. Old Catholicism is also again rising into hope and notice, and will, in the course of the year, hold a conference in some portion of Switzerland on the line of the Gothard Road, so as to be easy of access from both sides of the Alpine range.

In the Scandinavian States there is just now not a little of discomfort at the unsettled state of religious affairs. The State Church gained no laurels in the opposition to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in the leading capital, and Denmark was decidedly the gainer in welcoming that body to its capital. The Swiss Synod meets only once in five years, which fact shows that it is indeed a very slow coach. At that rate, in these fast days, the government might abolish it before its own veto could be interposed. In Norway there is a movement on foot to call during the present year an ecclesiastical conference to discuss the proposition to make

the Norwegian Church independent. At least it is expected that a synodal constitution will be obtained which will be a step toward self-government.

Holland is quite thoroughly permeated with civil and religious liberalism, and this latter has gone so far as to give it *godless schools*. This, in Europe, where the Sunday-school system is not very well developed, means just what it says, so that the children may pass through their course with but little intimation of divine truths except what they may receive in their homes. An effort is now being made to remedy this evil. The Reformed Church of Holland has more kinds of adherents within its lines than it can conveniently carry, and the time is near when there must be a reorganization into liberals and orthodox. The Ultramontane journals declare that these latter, in case of a division, will return to Rome; but in this, we venture to say, that their reckoning is a little premature.

In Belgium, notwithstanding the fearful commotion between the Catholics and the Liberals on the school and other civil questions, circumstances are not entirely unfavorable to the spread of evangelical religion. The "Belgian Christian Mission Church" is entirely independent of the State, and proposes to hold its Synod this year in Liege, while the State Protestant Church will meet in Brussels. In Antwerp there will be held a "Universal Exposition," at which, it is said, there will be evangelical service in several languages, while the Bible in various tongues will be offered to the visitors. In Spain alone do the prospects of the Protestant Church look gloomy. The present Conservative ministry is hostile to the Gospel, and lays every obstacle in its way.

The French Protestants are rapidly learning their strength, and the true means of carrying on a successful aggressive and defensive warfare against their enemies of various shades. The "Revue Chretienne," their official organ, so far as they have one in common, has passed into new hands, and greatly increased its corps of co-workers. Edmond de Pressensé, who so long controlled its pages, yields to the demands made on him in the French Senate, of which he is now a member, and retires from the leading place. But his spirit will still animate the work, and his pen will contribute the usual and acceptable monthly review.

Rev. Frank Puaux now enters the editorial sanctum to take up the mantle of the master and lead on in the conflict. And the central plank in his platform runs as follows: "Separation of Church and State presented as a principle and a goal; while expecting cordial sympathy for every tendency which shall prepare the way, but with the reserve that no action of the State is admissible to establish or maintain the profession of faith as long as the Concordat rule shall exist." And another plank is thus worded: "In political matters, invariable Liberalism against all the authorities, whether of the Right or the Left; and every-where, and always, the defense of the liberty of conscience."

In opening this new series of the "Review" the editor retains its time-honored device: "The Gospel and Liberty." And under this, he and his *confreres* expect to move on to great conquests. They do not believe, as is often asserted, that liberty is dangerous to the cause of true religion.

The crisis before them is one that springs from modern philosophy rather than from political development. They believe Christ more necessary now to the French nation than ever before, and propose to present him in simplicity as the Son of God and Friend of Man. They would have him mingle with the crowds, and have compassion on the people as in other times, so as to confound the sophists who would mislead the masses. To this weary and despairing nation they would repeat the apostolic words: "We have found the Christ." To do that they consider their duty and the secret of assured victory.

They do not regard numbers nor success alone, but the mysterious power of the truth that they preach. And, without conceiving great designs, they believe in their power to inspire and increase a truly Christian spirit, exempt at once from violence on the one hand, and too easy companionship on the other. Among the corps of workers on the magazine, in addition to the old and well-known names, we observe the new and celebrated ones of Lavelaye, Hollard, Kuhn, Bastide, Lacheret, Doctor Gibert, and others. With such a corps of co-laborers the sympathies of French Protestants are assured in advance.

THE ULTRAMONTANES IN BELGIUM.—The well-known publicist, Lavelaye, has a searching article in the January number of the "Revue Chretienne," on the religious crisis in Belgium, from which we give, in brief, these thoughts: The triumph of the Catholic party in the late elections, the advent to power of a cabinet resolutely clerical, and their hasty action in the matter of primary instruction, have induced a profound impression in the political life of the country. And this impression will, without doubt, find its counterpart in all Protestant nations with free institutions —such as England, the United States, and Holland.

The real question at stake is not often seen or regarded. The Ultramontanes believe that the Catholic Church, with the restoration of royalty by divine right, will have order, peace, and true liberty. On the other hand, the Liberal Catholics think that the Church can and ought to be reconciled with the modern spirit in spite of the anathemas of the syllabus. The freethinkers and the greater part of the Liberals imagine that the Catholic Church has lost its power, and that, while it is expiring, the State can organize new methods without caring for the resistance made. These three groups form the great majority, both in France and Belgium.

The author considers all these three mistaken in certain particulars, and believes that they ignore the teachings of history and contemporaneous facts; which assertion he supports about as follows: Experience proves that a country completely subjected to Rome may enjoy a peaceful happiness, and a certain liberty, on the condition of being protected from the invasion of modern ideas. This is seen in the Tyrol and in French Canada. But this supposes that heresy and free thought do not penetrate such lands, or are violently expelled from them, which is not easily the case in an epoch which hesitates at the Inquisition.

If the modern spirit enters a good Catholic land, the struggle against the Church will be most acrid and persistent. This has been seen in Rome for the last fourteen years, and it is this antagonism which now causes the crisis in Belgium. The Conservatives and the religious people who desire the overthrow of the Republic in France, in the interest of religion, are singularly blind. A restored monarchy would find its support in the clergy; and then against this power there would reappear a more violent hostility than at the period of the Restoration. If the throne were again supported by the altar, Catholicism would be attacked with greater bitterness than now. Liberal Catholics are mistaken when they imagine that the Church would be reconciled to modern ideas. Noble minds, even Tocqueville, have racked themselves with this chimera. But they forget the anathemas of the popes, and the decisions of the councils. The Church of Rome has always condemned liberty of conscience, and she demands to-day the extirpation of heretics in governments under the Concordat.

The CHURCH IN DENMARK is exerting itself with unusual vigor in the line of home mission work, and an ancient association is renewing its life in this intent. For two years it has had a local center in the best portion of the city, and thus attracts general attention. Large contributions have of late come to it from private sources, and it has built a great hall that will accommodate two thousand persons. Over a thousand meetings for various religious and philanthropic purposes have here been held in the course of the year. An adjunct in the form of a yard or court mission has been established to carry the Gospel into the inner courts or yards of the most densely populated quarters. This effort has revived the church attendance, which is now exceptionally good for a European city. The churches are filled every Sunday; even the early morning service of nearly all the new churches is largely attended.

This fact has developed the want of more places for public worship for the masses, and this want is likely to be supplied. These home missions are adopting the modern methods of taking to the poor and their children small papers and tracts, and especially appropriate hymns, the singing of which forms a strong attraction. The pastors, after holding off for a little while, are now inclined to aid in the work, to which they also bring the theological students. This movement has thus given life to the Sunday-schools, of which there are now many in the city. They have, of course, met with some contumely and opposition, but the people at large are with them, and their cause is growing in spite of opposition. This spirit is now spreading to other Danish cities, and thus Denmark is leaving the other Scandinavian realms quite in the background in the line of live religious work. Within the last few years five new churches have been erected in Copenhagen, a few of them quite beautiful architectural monuments. Some of the churches have been aided in this enterprise by private men of wealth, who think it wise to use their means thus in order to resist the advance of socialistic ideas.

A conflict in the CATHOLIC CHURCH OF FRANCE is causing the Pope considerable trouble. It arises from the different opinions entertained by the two parties—Liberal and Conservative—in regard to a Life of the late Bishop of Orleans, the famous Dupanloup. The Ultramontane press is attacking the author with unwise zeal because of his panegyrics, which to them are not agreeable; but they are, without exception, laymen who have certain control of the papal organ in France. These fanatical attacks on the Liberals bode no good for the Church at large in France, and the pontiff has addressed to them, through his nuncio to the French government, some very earnest warnings. The Papal Embassador declares that these unwise words can only make more difficult the mission of the bishops, which is now to conciliate a government that is, in many ways, protecting the Church from the assaults of the Radicals, and aiding it in its mission work abroad, especially in China, Japan, Madagascar, and other parts of Africa. The Cardinal-archbishop of Paris has also bid these over-zealous champions be still.

Old Catholicism is again resuming its activity in various parts of GERMANY. There is a large congregation in Wiesbaden that is leading off in the new movement. Several new periodicals are being established for circulation among the adherents of this Church, and Bishop Reinkens recently addressed a thousand persons on the theme, "German bishops a thousand years ago and now." The well-known Professor Braun, who left the Church on account of its dogma in regard to the Immaculate Conception, died recently without retracting his views, though a great effort was made by certain Catholic prelates to induce him to become reconciled to the "Holy Mother Church." One quite distinguished lady of this faith has recently published a pamphlet on the "Rights and Duties of the Women of the Present," in which she speaks very plainly of the celibacy of the clergy, and its evil influence on women whom it takes from their natural sphere, and uses for the advancement of tenets and creeds that are of infinite harm to society and social life. Old Catholicism is, therefore, by no means so moribund as the *Church* has represented it to be.

The Catholics of Germany have just formed a "Palestine Society," which is not in the line of exhumation as are most others. Its object is to look after the interests of their faith throughout the Holy Land, and by efficient arrangements to control the religious and social development of Catholicism in those limits. To this end they propose to establish in Jerusalem a hospice, with church, school, and hospital attached, in which German Catholics who come as pilgrims to the Holy Land may find a hospitable welcome, and assistance and care in case of need. And Catholics who, for any reason, wish to settle there, especially for the propagation of the faith, will receive advice that will help them in introducing genuine Christian culture into Palestine. A Franciscan monk has already secured some land and a roomy house in Jerusalem, as well as a piece of land in

Emmaus, which purchases have just been passed over to the hands of a committee, for the purpose of starting the work.

The Christian Colonial Association is the cognomen of another new body just founded in the Fatherland under the influence of the colonizing spirit now abroad in that country. Its object is to collect funds for the purpose of founding or aiding Christian colonization in all those parts of Africa now being acquired by Germany. It is intended to favor the acceptance of such persons mainly as find it difficult to gain a livelihood through the abundance of hands at their homes. The colony is to form a Christian community to be controlled by persons appointed by the association. It is to be the duty of those accepted by the association to exert themselves to make the colony an example and attraction, as well as an object lesson, to the natives. As soon as there is sufficient means in the treasury, a commission will be sent to Africa to acquire lands and pave the way for a beginning. In order to hasten and broaden the work, branch societies are being formed in various cities.

The German Puritans have received quite a ventilation from a recent work of colossal proportions, entitled the "History of Pietism." The book is not yet indeed finished; more is promised. What is now before the public treats of the mysticism of the Lutheran Church in the seventeenth century, of the fundamental forms of Pietism in the Lutheran Church, and of that of Halle. The book is by Dr. Albrecht Ritschl, which is to say that the subject is handled with great thoroughness, and with a peculiar illumination. The author shows great respect for the founders of the schism or sect—Spener and Franke—and grants full acknowledgment to their high worth. He does not so much censure Spener for inoculating Pietism with sickly germs, as for not preventing them from penetrating the body. Critics promise to give the work a complete overhauling, with the view of showing the influence of Pietism on the development of the present German Evangelical Church, by which Pietism will be more likely to suffer than to profit.

Russia and the Vatican.—The Concordat concluded last spring between Russia and the Vatican, though it seemed to grant unusual privileges to the Catholic Church, is not working very harmoniously. Russia has called a synod of the Greek Church in a district that Rome claims for her own. She also demands that her own officers in the Department of Public Worship shall have cognizance of correspondence between the Vatican and the government, and that the Roman Catholic fraternities for the protection of the faith shall be under police surveillance. And again, the orthodox Church accuses the Romish hierarchy of endeavoring to proselytize, while the official organ of the government threatens the Vatican with another break in diplomatic relations. All these troubles show how weak is the foundation of the peace that now ostensibly reigns between Rome and Russia, despite the Concordat.

The eighth general meeting of the deaconesses of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, was recently held in the famous "Mother House." Over a hundred delegates were present from the various centers that have been established by these good women of God in Germany and other lands. They came from Paris and Pesth, from Switzerland and Austria, from Finland and Denmark, and other distant centers. Their object was to renew their faith by conference, and to discuss all questions pertaining to their wonderfully useful work. They now propose a closer union, with a view to harmony of action and purpose, and are inclined to make a code for the better protection of those in foreign lands. They propose to withdraw the sisters from the clinics of hospitals, and employ them more exclusively in charitable institutions; and demand at least that the nurses in clinics shall have a little Sabbath rest. The main object of the conference thus seems to be to elevate and improve the condition of the workers.

A German scholar, Dr. J. M. Raich, has undertaken the peculiar task of showing Shakespeare's position toward the Catholic religion. The argument is based on his very correct presentation of Catholic doctrines, ceremonies, and usages, and the special preference of the poet for those points of Catholicism which are generally marked in black by its opponents. Such are the asceticism, the frequent prayer, the vows, the whole monasterial life, as well as the sacraments and purgatory of the "True Church." On the contrary, Shakespeare shows very little knowledge of the doctrines of the Reformation, of total depravity, and of justification by faith. And still more instructive is the difference made by the dramatist in the delineation of the clergy of the respective faiths—on the one hand, the Catholic monks, nuns, hermits, bishops, and priests, and, on the other, the Puritanic or Anglican clergy, and their surroundings. The book is pretty roughly handled by some critics, who claim that Shakespeare had a good deal of Protestant blood in his veins.

A very acceptable book to the French Protestants, bearing the title "Adolphe Monod—Souvenirs of his Life," has just issued from the press of Fischbacher, in Paris. It contains, among other treasures, extracts from his correspondence. A more cherished present could scarcely have been made to the Protestants of France. The pious hand that selected the letters was well suited to the task. The first volume—there are two—is a model biography. The precious documents taken from the archives of the family are connected with tact and discretion, and the recital is simple and graphic. Monod is presented as he lived—a humble, fervent Christian in his pleasures and his struggles. A French critic calls these volumes the "gift of God," and says: "They do more than interest and move us—they humiliate by placing us in the presence of the highest Christian ideal, which is the greatest blessing bestowed on us."

A new movement in London, gaining its animus from the late "Bitter Cry of the Outcast," and bearing the name of the "Third London Mission," bids fair to have a great field for labors, and promises much success.

It is virtually a stepping down into the arena of all shades of the Established Church, from the most decided Rituals to the extreme wing of the Evangelicals. The whole movement is voluntary, though springing largely from the suggestion and support of the Bishop of Bedford. The pastors of several churches have called to their aid the assistance of some of the most gifted preachers, and, in their own circles, have received the aid of a great many volunteers among the laity. Mission sermons are to be preached in more than two hundred churches; and, in some of the filthiest and vilest portions of London, the pastor, in full clerical attire, will head a procession with lanterns and flags bearing the invitation, "Come to the Mission." And, after passing through the principal streets, will return to the church, singing hymns, and followed by a crowd for an audience.

The question of Christian benevolence in the Middle Ages is very thoroughly and effectively discussed in a recent work by Dr. Uhlhorn, called forth by the fact that the Catholic world of Europe is quite inclined to attribute much of the social unrest of the period among the poorer and working classes to the rise and rule of Protestantism in many countries. The Catholic Church maintains, that in the good old times a great deal of the suffering of the poor was alleviated by the cloisters, hospitals, and other institutions of the day for the alleviation of human misery. Dr. Uhlhorn treats the matter without gloves, and quite conclusively shows that many of these very institutions propagated beggary and idleness, instead of destroying these evils. It was the Church of the Reformation that undertook the task of wiping out these so-called benevolent organizations which spent far more money on themselves than on the poor, and of establishing in their stead evangelical Church institutions, that forbade beggars and dispensed well-ordered charity.

We have just received the last number of the new Italian review, entitled "La Nuova Scienza." It is devoted to the study of higher instruction and philosophical research. It appears to be plowing its way on with much vigor, and is giving to its readers the "Italian thought of the day" in the matters of which it treats. Many of our own terms and proper names, as well as those of Germany, look strangely out of place among the pretty vowel-ending words of the "Bella Lingua," in an article called "Anglo-Saxon Anti-Clerical Evolution," which is a very exhaustive and valuable treatise. One of the sections of this lengthy article is devoted to "German Pietism," another to "British Methodism," and still another to "American Methodism." We need hardly say that this latter, with its well-known names of the great worthies of our Church, looks very natural to us, and we thank God that they are being so rapidly and successfully introduced to Italian Protestant Christians.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Beatification asked for "American Servants of God."—A noteworthy movement has been begun by a few dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States looking toward the "beatification" of certain "American servants of God." The candidates for this honor are Father Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit priest; René Goupil, a novice of the same society—both of whom are revered as martyrs; and Catherine Tegakwita, "the Indian virgin of the Mohawk." Father Jogues was a Frenchman, born in 1607. Ordained when about thirty years of age, he promptly dedicated himself to the Indian missions in America, and sailed for Canada. The story of his self-denying and heroic adventures among the Hurons and Mohawks has been told at length by Parkman and Bancroft. His religious zeal impelled him through dangers that deterred even the hardiest military men, and led at last to his capture by the hostile Mohawks. These savages inflicted inhuman tortures upon him and upon his congenial companion, "the good René." The priest had the sturdier constitution and recovered, but Goupil died, "uttering with his last breath the name of Jesus." As a slave to a Mohawk chief, Father Jogues spent several years in patient efforts to Christianize his savage master. When the outbreak of fresh wars made his ministry to the Indians manifestly unavailing, he was persuaded, though much against his own wish, to escape to New Amsterdam, now New York. He was the first priest who celebrated the mass in that city. Returning to Europe, he was received as a saint by sovereigns and people, and especially honored by the pope. But his zealous spirit soon brought him back to America, and before long he had begun a mission to his old tormentors, the Mohawks. He was received at first with dignity as an embassador from the French; but when his religious ministrations were begun, their hostility was again aroused, and the gentle hero was put to death in 1646, in the same village in which, four years before, he had been tortured and mutilated, and had beheld the martyrdom of his cherished friend. The claims of Catherine Tegakwita for beatification rest on slenderer foundations; she was an inconspicuous Indian maiden, who dedicated herself to the Church, and in early life faded from the earth, leaving an aroma of sanctity behind her. Legends of miracles have blossomed about her tomb.

The Plenary Council of Baltimore forwarded to Rome a conciliar petition, or *postulatum*, for the beatification of these worthies; so that "the whole American Church" is now on its knees before the Holy See, united in this request. This incipient movement looking toward the canonization of "Americans" has an interest that reaches beyond the pale of the Romish Church. Beatification, to be sure, is "a mere permission for a limited *cultus* of the beatified," whereas canonization introduces them as saints upon the altars, to be religiously venerated. But, then, their full sainthood is only a question of time, and their promotion will doubtless

be followed by that of others more closely allied in race to the present superstitious masses of our country—genuine Americans, of Irish or Italian extraction perhaps. A writer in "The Catholic World" tells us that already "one of the questions of the hour" is, Where are our national saints and shrines? And thoughtful Protestants may well pause and listen when Romish authorities answer that question. The *saints* have been already described; of the *shrines* one, at least, is to be found in the heart of our most populous State; and we shall soon, doubtless, see deluded pilgrims flocking to it by the hundred, just as now they crowd the roads to Knock and Lourdes and La Salette.

"Orthodox" and "Reformed" Judaism.—The thoughtful student of the tendencies of contemporary religious thought has few problems presented to him of greater interest than those which spring from the steady tendency of the "Reformers" in Judaism away from the orthodox standards of the ritualistic Hebrews. Gathering strength in Germany a generation ago, the reform movement has steadily gained in vigor and influence, and its representatives in America are now helping to mold the thought of the next generation of Gentiles as well as Jews.

A remarkable letter written by Jacob H. Schiff to one of the editors of "The American Hebrew" contrasts the tendencies of Hebrew thought in Germany and in the United States with great fairness. According to the writer, only the Orthodox wing in Germany now represents positive principles, and it declines to work hand in hand with the Reformers. The Orthodox are to-day as intolerant toward the Reformers as the latter were thirty or forty years ago, when they first gained in power, toward those who then continued to adhere to the ritual of Judaism. But Jewish reform in Germany can by no means stand the test of comparison with Reformed Judaism in America. While in the United States the Reformed Jew is ever ready to join hands with his Orthodox brother where the promotion of some Jewish interest demands it, and is at heart as true a Jew as those of more orthodox inclinations, in Germany the Reformer, as a rule, treats his brother in faith as he would a poor relative whom he cannot get rid of, and to whom he periodically pays a pittance not to be any further reminded of the relationship. Thus Reformed Judaism in Germany becomes more or less the bridge to Christianity, readily crossed by many, who consider their religion a dress only to be changed for a more comfortable one at the first opportunity. Mr. Schiff expresses the fear that a union between all factions, such as has been most successfully accomplished in America through the Ministers' Association, must in Germany remain a dream of the future, greatly to the detriment of Jewish interests. Anti-Semitism could not make the headway it is still making were the Hebrews really united. The general belief is, that the anti-Semitic agitation has by no means spent its force; and that the movement has secretly, if not openly, the moral support of the German government, as in Russia and Roumania, it can hardly be doubted, the anti-Jewish agitation has the "good-will" of the authorities.

"The Baptist Year-Book" for 1885 contains a nearer approximation to accurate denominational statistics than has perhaps ever been reached heretofore. No ecclesiastical organization equals the Methodist Episcopal Church in its facilities for securing correct returns; but the difficulties are greatly increased where the tendencies of the denomination are toward congregational segregation rather than connectional unity. So greatly has this difficulty been felt by Baptist statisticians, that for years no attempt has been made to compile a complete list of the Baptist ministers in the United States. Such a list, we are happy to note, appears in the Year-Book, carefully arranged by States, and with the post-office address of each minister. Many inaccuracies and omissions in such a tabulation are unavoidable; but great care has evidently been taken, and the results are very gratifying. The summary of statistics gives these aggregates: Associations, 1,178; ordained ministers, 16,678; churches, 28,599; additions by baptism, 135,740; by letter, 60,206; by experience, 9,336; by restoration, 18,163; diminutions (by letter, exclusion, erasure, and death), 130,385; total of members, 2,507,753; increase, 93,060. This increase is ascertained, not by comparing this year's total with that reported last year, but simply by comparing the reported increase and diminution,—the additions being 223,445, and the diminution 130,385. The aggregates thus stated, being made up from imperfect returns, are, as "The Watchman" says, *within* the truth, so that it may be justly claimed that the Baptists in the United States number more than 2,500,000. Their number was increased during the year by the baptism of 135,740 persons. Disregarding the additions and dismissions by letter, which represent only changes of residence, and taking into account such changes only as affect the total aggregate, the baptisms, admissions by experience, and restorations amount to 163,239, and the deaths, exclusions, and erasures to 68,920; making the actual increase to be 94,319.

Recent Doings of the Salvation Army.—Attention was called in a recent number to the wonderful facility in adapting their methods to changing circumstances manifested in many places by the leaders of the Salvation Army. But on American soil their performances do not seem hitherto to have been guided by wisdom. In a land where every layer of society is continually receiving accessions from and making contributions to the social strata above and beneath, and where the most degraded classes have as keen a sense of the ludicrous as the highest, some modification in methods might be expected. But here the leaders seem to be destitute of tact and the organization to be without elasticity. The rancor engendered by divided counsels, and the laxity of discipline which has made it possible for thieves and ruffians to use a Christian profession and an Army badge to aid in nefarious schemes, have aroused a distrust which it will require great discretion to overcome. And the extravagances which have characterized the movement from the outset are indulged here without check. Nearly all the proceedings of the Convention held in New York were marked by whimsical extravagance.

While one cannot speak too highly of the genuine work of the Army,

it is to be feared that it is already yielding to the necessity for producing fresh excitements in order to maintain its position and influence. In England, it has now taken to the working of miracles. "Major" Pearson, in charge at Hanley, in the Potteries, professes to have the power of healing the blind, the deaf, and the lame. At a meeting held recently, an old woman who claimed to have been deaf for forty years professed to have regained her hearing; a paralyzed woman, taken to the place of meeting in a chair, staggered to her feet, and walked; another woman, stone deaf, testified that she had been perfectly cured. This scene was repeated night after night. But in "The Christian Journal," a week or two later, there appeared an account by an eye-witness of a scene so blasphemous and revolting that one cannot read it without a shudder. These excesses are as yet exceptional, but they indicate a very evident tendency; and the General and his advisers seem either unable or indisposed to check them. At its last meeting the "Convocation" pronounced its emphatic verdict against the Army on the ground that its work, though in its earlier history, and even yet in some cases, commendable, is in the main a failure. This utterance is regarded in England as of great weight.

The Executive Commission of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches, appointed by the Council of Belfast, is not by any means a merely nominal body. Its work has been prosecuted with vigor and success, although, like many another beneficent scheme, its progress has been hampered by lack of financial support. It has been recently decided that there shall be one Secretary, who shall reside in Great Britain, and "conduct from thence the work which extends over the entire Presbyterian world." The European and American Branches seem to be working in perfect harmony; and as a result "the great Presbyterian family" has been brought nearer together than ever before. In Scotland there is a strong and growing desire for the reunion of the three Presbyterian Churches. The Free Church of Italy and the old Waldensian Church will probably be united before long. As a direct result of the meeting at Belfast, we are told, the Church of Hungary has been brought into closer relations with the British and American Churches; and the movement in behalf of the Bohemian Church is making encouraging progress. In the United States the Reformed Churches, both "Dutch" and "German," and the Associated Reformed, join heartily with their Presbyterian brethren in the support of the Alliance. The Committee on Foreign Missionary Co-operation is about to meet, and its doings will be watched with intense interest not only by Presbyterian missionaries and their friends, but by Christians every-where who are interested in the progress of the Gospel in heathen lands. The tendency toward union now evident among the Presbyterian Churches in all parts of the world is one of the most hopeful movements in modern Christendom; it began in the heart of Presbyterianism rather than in its head; and its strength increases because of an increase in Christian charity, and not because of the organizing skill of ecclesiastical politicians.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

A Notable Convert from Mohammedanism. — Converts from Islamism are much fewer in number than any, except close students of missionary work, would suppose. Almost ever since modern missions took their rise missionaries have been at work in Moslem countries and communities, and the superficial observer might well wonder why converts from the religion of Mohammed are not numerous. In Turkey, in India, in Syria, in Persia, great results have been obtained for the Church of Christ, but the masses of Moslems have remained untouched. In Turkey it is death for a Turk to become a Christian, and it is death for a missionary to endeavor to make him such. There have been no open efforts, therefore, to reach the Moslem population. The government will not tolerate them, nor will it allow a Moslem to accept Christianity and leave the country. Recently a number of persons who had been led to renounce the Koran for the Bible attempted to escape to a Christian country, where they could profess and live the religion of Christ, but the government intercepted them and threw them into prison. The missionaries have labored exclusively among the nominal Christian populations, the Armenians, Greeks, and other non-Moslem and non-Turkish peoples, and have won great triumphs, and now they begin to feel that it is time to attack the Mohammedan faith, but this cannot be done without martyrdom. The Sultan guards the religion of his people with the greatest vigilance, and it is only indirectly that they are affected by the influences of Christianity. Some of those who mix with converted Armenians, observe their lives, and occasionally look into their books, and come quietly to know the truth, but dare not profess it. In Persia there has been a larger measure of freedom, and a number of Moslems have been quietly drawn into the mission churches through the schools. Sometimes attention is attracted to such cases, and an outbreak of the populace occurs, but the government suppresses the disturbance and generally visits no further penalty on the missionaries than a solemn warning to let Moslems alone. In India there is, of course, ample protection for work among all classes of the population, and Moslems have been reached more directly and successfully than in any other country. One of the recent converts from the faith of the Arabian prophet is worthy of more than a passing notice. Abdul Haqq was reared a Brahmin, and as such he lived until about twelve years ago, when, attracted by a study of the character of Mohammed, he embraced the Moslem faith. He was given the best training that Delhi could afford, and became a Maulvie, wearing a signet ring as a badge of his scholarship. He was put forth as a sort of Goliath to go against the David of Christianity. To prepare himself for this special work he had to make himself familiar with the Bible, the study of which finally undermined his faith in Islamism. After the celebrated case growing out of the attempt of the local government to prevent street preaching in Calcutta was settled in favor of the missionaries, the Mohammedan opposition to Christianity received

a new impetus. Abdul Haqq, as the champion, learned in Mussulman, Arabic, and Sanskrit lore, was hired at a large price to preach daily in Wellington Square, and he succeeded in drawing some converts from Christianity even. Tracts were also circulated, and the missionaries were compelled to meet attack with attack, propagandism with propagandism, tract with tract. One of the tracts put forth by the missionaries contained these five questions:

1. How can Mohammedans know that God is good and almighty, seeing that the Koran teaches that evil as well as good emanates from eternity from God?
2. On what ground does Islam claim to be the true religion: on Mohammed, or on what the Koran says about Mohammed? If on Mohammed, what are the marks of his being a true prophet? If on the Koran, what are the marks of its being the word of God?
3. What claims can the Mohammedans advance to prove that Islam is superior to other religions?
4. Does Mohammed base his claims as a prophet on the performance of miracles, or not? If, like other prophets, he performed miracles, where are they?
5. Was Mohammed a sinner, or was he sinless? The Koran proves he was a sinner; how can he, therefore, save other sinners in the day of judgment?

This tract set the Maulvie to thinking, and a sermon which he heard from Dr. Thoburn led him to examine the Bible. The result was the preparation of the following notice, which was affixed to the doors of the mosques as sealed with his signet:

NOTICE.—Be it known by the learned among the Islamites, that their servant, Abdul Haqq, a follower of the traditions, wishes to represent to them that he has been coming to Calcutta in the interests of the spread of Mohammedanism for the space of nine years. More especially, during this year, 1884, has he spread Mohammedanism so much as to have established a mission in opposition to the Padri Sahibs. During this time a Bible fell into my hands, from which it became evident to me that Mohammed Sahib had taken from those very books that from which he had composed the Koran. Hereby I, therefore, publish my conviction that Mohammed is not the prophet of God, nor is the Koran the word of God. If any gentleman can make any apology in defense of Mohammedanism within a week, let him do so, establishing it with proofs from the writings of the Koran; if not, after eight days I will become a Christian.

ABDUL HAQQ, Maulvie of the Mohammedan Community.

This notice was followed by a reply to one of his co-religionists who had attempted to answer him. In the reply he said:

Let it be known by high and low, that Mantana Rahim Bakhsh, seeing my thesis, wrote very abusively about it, concluding with the assertion of salvation through Mohammed. The Mantana Sahib showed himself to be speaking in an unthinking, parrot-like style, even in the same way as the false physician whom he follows, who asserts salvation through himself without being able to prove it: *vide* "*Surat Asar*" and "Sura Moonnin," in which we read, "Verily those who have believed, and have done good works, will enter into paradise."

Also from many of the traditions it is evident that Mohammed Sahib often promised salvation to the healthy, but in no place is there any direction to the sinner to put his trust for cleansing from his soul's sickness upon him, nor did any sinner ever look upon Mohammed as his healer or saviour. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of a noted physician and a very sick man. Somebody proposes to the latter to consult this doctor. Would he, upon hearing this, say, "It is only for healthy people to consult him; why should I, being sick, do so?" No, a doctor is for sick people, not for sound frames. A sick man who rejects his skill is indeed foolish. There is a well-known proverb, "*Nim hakim bhatre jan*,"

or, "A quack doctor endangers life." Now, we must remember that man suffers from two forms of diseases—one of the body and one of the soul. It is prudent for a man who is ill to see the credentials, or the diploma, of the doctor who treats him, and not well that he should let him treat him till he has done so, or he may get harm. In these days how many assert the claims of their skill, which, upon examination, prove to be vain! When we look into it with unbiased minds, we see that the medicines prescribed by such doctors are simply for our bodily ailments. It is evident that cleansings and purifications in water can only remove bodily illness. But this "physician" (Mohammed) has given us no prescription by which our soul's disease may be cured. The following claim of his is also untrue: You who would be friends of God follow in my path, then "God will forgive you; verily, he who is the Forgiver of sins is very merciful." Taking such a prescription as that to the apothecary's shop, we should certainly be told: "I know not even the name of this doctor, nor is his recipe complete; he having learned something in my establishment, has prescribed so incorrectly, that, rather than benefit your health, this will bring upon you a worse disease, even consumption. If you do not believe this, search my establishment and all my medicines, and examine into the many mistakes that the doctor has made in altering my remedy."

MAULVIE MOHAMMED ABDUL HAQQ.

His Mohammedan friends now brought to bear all the influence possible to induce him to remain a Moslem, but they could not answer his questions and arguments, and he publicly renounced Mohammedanism and became a Christian inquirer under the direction of Dr. Bauman. After two months' instruction and probation he was received into the Church at the station of the Church Missionary Society, Churchmen, Methodists, Baptists, joining in the interesting service. Paulus Abdul Haqq desires to spend the rest of his life in proclaiming Christianity as publicly and earnestly as he preached Islamism. There is reason to expect great good from his labors.

THE GERMANS AND THE CAMEROONS MISSION.—The German government, in taking possession of the district of Biafra, on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, caused a great deal of mischief to the English Baptist mission. This mission is nearly forty years old, and its history, its successes, and its sacrifices deserved the first consideration from any civilized power, and certainly from a Christian government like Germany. The celebrated Alfred Saker, on being driven from the island of Fernando Po forty years ago, went to Cameroons, and bought property there for a mission station. The natives were then cannibals, and nobody had tried to civilize them. Baptist missionaries have labored faithfully among them ever since, and the society has expended more than $500,000 on the mission. There are four stations—Cameroons, Hickory Town, Victoria, and Bakundu. The southern part of Biafra is the seat of the American Presbyterian mission, whose successes at Gaboon and other stations are well known. The Germans bought the territory of a chief named King Bell, who, however, ceded not only his own territory, but that of a neighboring chief called Joss Chief, entirely unknown to the latter. When Joss Chief heard of the transaction he repudiated it, and told the German authorities that King Bell had no right to sell his territory. One of the Baptist missionaries tells the rest of the story:

The Germans are not popular with the people, and many of the chiefs are annoyed and vexed with King Bell for signing the treaty with the Germans. The

feeling against King Bell grew so strong that he and all his people were obliged to leave Bell Town, and for the last five or six weeks they have been hiding in Mungo Creek. A petty warfare has been going on for some weeks between King Bell and Joss and Hickory Towns. About December 14, King Bell's people caught a Hickory Town man and put him to death. This so angered the Hickory Town people that on December 16 they came and burned down King Bell's house and town. It had been deserted some weeks previously. On Friday, December 19, two German men-of-war arrived at the mouth of the river. On Saturday, the 20th, about 10 A. M., I saw two small steamers, the "Fan" and "Dualla," towing up about a dozen boats filled with German soldiers. Without the slightest warning or notice they steamed straight to Hickory Town, firing upon and destroying two small fishing canoes on the way, and killing the poor men in them, who had done nothing wrong and were perfectly harmless. The Hickory people saw the Germans coming up the river. The men took their guns and ran into the bush behind the town. The women and the children belonging to the mission-house took refuge in our mission-house. As soon as I saw what was going on, I went immediately in the mission boat up to Hickory, and stayed there all day. Soon after the German soldiers landed. King Bell's people arrived and began to plunder the town. The poor people in their haste and flight left every thing behind them. Bell's people seized the goods, furniture, and every thing valuable, and even carried off the goats and fowls; then set fire to the whole of the town. When I arrived at Hickory Town I told the mission people to bring every thing they could carry into the mission-house and sit down quietly. I then shut the doors, and with the aid of a German soldier (granted to me by the commander) I managed to keep the Bell Town people outside the mission-house. I am glad to say we managed to save the property and lives of about fifty of our mission people. When they began to burn the houses round the mission buildings I went to the German commander and King Bell, and pointed out that if these houses were fired nothing could save the mission property. They both promised me most deliberately that the houses should not be fired; but in a few minutes they had set them on fire. Mr. Fuller's beautiful little chapel soon took fire, then the school-house, then the kitchen and outbuildings of the mission. The only thing that saved to some extent the mission-house was its iron roof. It did take fire in two places; but we managed to put it out. There is now nothing but the bare brick walls of the chapel and school standing, and no house but the mission-house for miles on either side. After the German soldiers left I got the loan of a large surf-boat, and brought about fifty Hickory mission people, women and children, with their goods, to Bethel Station. We lodged them in the mission-house and school-room that night. December 21, being Sunday, we held a prayer-meeting instead of our usual morning service, and held Sunday-school as usual. About one o'clock the Germans surrounded the Bethel mission buildings with about 200 soldiers. They roughly searched the whole of the mission premises, and threatened us, with loaded pistols and rifles at our heads. They only found one man, although we had nearly 100 women and children in the house. This man, "Robert," a member of the Hickory Church, was not one of the men brought from Hickory. He came to Acqua Town on business long before the fight commenced on Saturday. The Germans took him prisoner; but I do not think any thing can possibly be proved against him. The German officers were most insulting. They threatened and frightened the poor people in the house as much as they could. In the afternoon they sent us a proclamation, which said that if we aided directly or indirectly the rebellious natives they would consider us enemies, and banish us immediately from Cameroons. After this I thought it best to send the rest of the Hickory refugees away, and most of the women have now gone to their husbands at Bassa. Not only is Mortonville Mission Station destroyed, but there is not a single house standing for miles on that side of the river. The people being proclaimed as rebels are not at all likely to settle there again. Bell Town is also quite ruined as a station; there are no houses standing nearer than Acqua Town. The teachers and members of the Jebari Church have fled for their lives, and now Jebari is occupied by King Bell and his people. Many of the mission people round Bethel have gone to Bassa and other places.

The society very properly asks the British government to demand damages from Germany for the property destroyed.

Result of French Rule in Tahiti.—Tahiti is one of the islands of the Pacific which Christian missionaries have reclaimed from the savage state. It is beautiful and fruitful, with an agreeable climate, fine harbors, and a considerable trade. It is now wholly under the rule of the French, whose influence has been predominant in the island since 1844. The population, which is under 10,000, is of a most mixed character. Every island in the Pacific is represented, and Europeans, Chinese, and half-breeds come in to add to the confusion of race. For some years there has been full religious toleration, but whatever favor the government has for religion is given to the Catholics, for whom it built a cathedral. Catholics and Protestants have worked side by side in evangelizing the people, but Protestantism has nine adherents where Catholicism has one. And yet the priests use every artifice to gain converts. They use the Protestant Bible, and make their services as much like the Protestant as possible, and even promise the natives not to ask them for contributions; but they fail to get many hearers except Europeans. French rule is said to be more stable than native rule, but it is much more costly, and has a tendency to increase immorality. The Europeans and Chinese show an utter disregard for the marriage tie. Sunday has become, under French rule, a day of dissipation, and a large trade in opium has been developed. The most moral, religious, and law-abiding inhabitants are the natives. Says a South Sea missionary:

> It is truly wonderful the strong hold which true religion exerts over the native population. Notwithstanding the many influences at work—the great indifference shown by many of the foreign residents to religion, the eagerness for temporal gain, the baneful example of others, those again who scoff at religion and ridicule all the means of grace—there is much true godliness among the natives; they observe family worship; read, love, and strive to follow the teachings of the Bible; attend the house of prayer, and seek to serve the Lord, and are trusting upon Christ for eternal life. I have been thrown much among them, preached to them, assisted them in various ways, and, I can truly say, that it is surprising that so many are servants of the true God while so much that is evil surrounds them.

A Promising Work among the Koreans.—It will be remembered under what difficult circumstances the Rev. John Ross, of the Scottish United Presbyterian Mission in China, prepared the first Korean version of the Gospels, which were printed two years ago. Baffled at first in almost all his efforts to get a clew to the language, he persevered until from various sources he obtained a fair knowledge of it, and was able to make a good translation. The society for which he has been laboring so faithfully and successfully has had two missions in China—one in Manchuria, on the border of Korea, and one with its head-quarters at Chefoo. It has been decided to transfer the latter mission to another society, and concentrate the force of both missions in Manchuria, where the opportunity to reach Koreans in large numbers is very good. On the western bank of

the Yaloo River many Koreans have lived for twenty years under the jurisdiction of the newly founded city of Toonghwa. It was from some of these people that Mr. Ross got help in making his Korean Gospels. His first compositor in Korean, who was of that nationality, became a colporteur. The new compositor soon accepted Christianity, and he, too, has gone out to sell books, and another Korean has been engaged to set type. The second colporteur sold several thousand Gospels and tracts among the people on the Yaloo, and brought back to Moukden a remarkable man who had read the tracts and wanted further instruction. He is a noble holding the highest literary degree. He soon devoured all the Christian literature Mr. Ross gave him, and declared that he had at last found a faith in which he could rest. He was baptized at the end of two months' probation, and has gone to the Yaloo to preach the Gospel to his countrymen. It appears that in his native home, from which he escaped on account of political troubles, he had estates and thirty slaves. Of the former only a little can be sold, but what can be sold he is anxious to realize on, to get his family and retainers out of Korea into the colony. These men, he says, will build him a house, and he believes that he will be able to carry out his wish to preach the Gospel at his own charge. Another refugee of the same class has sought Mr. Ross at Moukden, and is receiving instruction. The prospect seems very bright, not only as to work among the Koreans, but among the people of Manchuria, who every-where throng about the colporteurs, anxious to buy their books.

Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions.—It seems impossible for the fairest-minded Roman Catholics to treat Protestant missions with any degree of justice. Marshall's so-called "History of Missions," while it naturally enlarges upon the glorious achievements of Catholic missions, only discusses Protestant missions to caricature them. A grosser misrepresentation it would be difficult to write of set purpose than is found in Marshall's pages. Alzog, in his "Church History," gives the fairest Catholic view of Protestant effort for the salvation of the heathen; but even he, liberal Catholic as he is, hardly approaches the true historical standard, either in the adequacy or the fairness of his presentation. In the current literature of the Catholic press nothing is more common than gross attacks on the character and results of Protestant missions. Even the fact of the vast sums consecrated by Protestant Churches to the conversion of the world—Protestant liberality in this respect making a strong contrast with the moderate giving of Roman Catholics—is used to throw doubt and suspicion on the motives of Protestant missionaries. But the methods and results of the two systems of missionary activity, when honestly compared, do not indicate any superiority on the side of the Church of Rome. It is true that Catholic missionaries often prove themselves to be great heroes, and that they face the greatest dangers and privations without flinching. They have penetrated to the most inaccessible places, and labored with a patience and a faithfulness worthy of all praise; but they have shown no greater heroism than Protestant missionaries, by whom they

have been easily surpassed in notable achievements. As to results, Catholic missions are far behind Protestant, both in character and extent. It is well known that Catholic converts are not raised in the scale of civilization and morality as are Protestant converts. Priests might, for example, secure the conversion of all Korea or China without greatly affecting the civilization or national life of either, if we may judge by the character of the work they have already done in these countries. Much of the heathenism, much of the immorality, of the people they make good Catholics of, remains untouched, and it is sometimes hard to distinguish between the pagan and the Catholic. On the other hand, Protestant converts, whether in China or Africa—whether in India or the South Seas—become a marked community, advancing in all good qualities and works. Roman Catholics are far more numerous in China than Protestants, but it is Protestant Christianity almost solely that has effected the improvement in Chinese civilization. As an influence it is vastly greater than the Roman Catholic. The same thing is true of Japan and of India. The report of the government census in India will show what Catholic and Protestant missionaries do for their respective converts. We quote from a review in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," in 1875:

> The ignorance of the Mohammedan population is profound, and the Christians would be far in advance but for the fact that Romanists are included among them. Where the Romanists preponderate, as in Chingleput, the native Christians give the lowest percentage of education, on a level with the Hindus. In North and South Arcot it is much the same. The comment is, "The Native Christians are badly educated." In Tanjore, it is said, "The Christian population is badly educated, as is usually the case where Roman Catholics preponderate. The Romish Church aims more at conversion than education." It is much the same in Trichinopoly, "the reason being, that Protestant missions, with their educational establishments, have not largely entered upon this field of labor." In Madura, where ninety-three per cent. of the Christians belong to the Romish Church, and where Romish missions have existed for nearly three hundred years, the Christians "show to the least advantage." They are the most ignorant of the population. When we pass to Tinnevelly, the center of Protestant missions, the official report is, "This is one of the few districts where a large percentage of the population is classed as educated." In this district "the native Christians occupy a high place among the instructed." In Salem, where "the Roman Catholics have a large number of converts, the Christians are not so well instructed as the Mohammedans." In South Canara, where nearly all the native converts have embraced Roman Catholicism, "they do not show in the matter of education," and "their level of intelligence is very little raised above the level of their fellow-countrymen." It will be seen that Romanism and ignorance in India are identical. For all practical purposes Romanism in India is merely a fresh form of idolatry superadded to those already existing, and producing little or no moral or social elevation.

It is claimed for Roman Catholic missions that their influence is of a permanent character. There are, however, some very striking examples to the contrary. Congo is a conspicuous one. Three centuries ago Catholicism was the only religion tolerated in that whole region. Hardly an unbaptized person could be found. Almost all the orders—Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Augustins, Bernardins, Carmelites—were represented in that territory. The ablest missionaries were sent out from Rome, and the treasure of Portugal, as well as the royal sword, were

freely used for the Church. Where, now, is the Congo Church? Where are the Catholics of Loango? Melted away, long ago, because the converts were such only in form—Christian only at the point of the sword. In India, where Catholic converts have been counted by the hundred thousand, several Catholic missions, according to "The Indian Evangelical Review" for January, are in a "moribund condition;" and we are further told that Protestant missions are making twice the progress that Catholic missions are making among the Hindus, and that Catholics have given up in despair efforts to evangelize them. "They have nothing," continues the editor, "of the perseverance of Protestant missions in untoward circumstances." A test of the quality of endurance as between Roman and Protestant missionaries was afforded a year or two ago in Uganda, on the Victoria Nyanza in Central Africa. The missionaries of the Church Missionary Society had penetrated to those savage shores at great cost and privation and peril, and sought to Christianize and civilize Mtesa and his people. Sometime after French priests arrived, and endeavored by intrigue to drive the English missionaries away, and have the field to themselves. They made, however, little progress, either in the good graces of the king or with the people, and at last retired confessing their failure. As to the frugality of Roman and Protestant missionaries respectively, of which a great deal has been written, a missionary contributor to a recent number of the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" gives the following as personal testimony:

A further question yet remains, of missionaries who live on twenty pounds a year in China and in India, and deny themselves the comforts considered necessary for Europeans. As it happens to have been the lot of the writer to have seen a good deal of Romish missions and Romish missionaries in India, perhaps some jottings from his experience may not be out of place here. A good many years have now elapsed since he made the voyage round the Cape to India in company with a Romish bishop, a dean, and staff of clergy. For three months or more the writer sat between the bishop and dean at the cuddy-table. There was no symptom of these gentlemen denying themselves "the comforts considered necessary for Europeans." It is painful to record that within the space of four years no less than four of them died of *delirium tremens*. We vouch for two cases on the assurance of the doctors who attended them, and a third from the excellent Christian judge who in the most humane manner watched over the terrible dying agonies of the third. In the case of the fourth, the writer cannot speak so positively, but fully believes the evidence furnished him. It would have been well if these Irish priests "had denied themselves comforts considered necessary in Maynooth or Tipperary," but dangerous for Europeans in India.

This was, however, not the whole of the writer's experience. For a good many years he rented more than one house from a Portuguese bishop, and had intimate opportunities of judging of the spiritual and moral condition of the Portuguese clergy. The bishop was a Portuguese grandee of high standing, and, although sunk in sloth and sensuality, retained something of the manner and bearing of a fidalgo. As on one occasion he was suffering from gout, an unusual malady in India, the writer remarked to his medical attendant, "How is it that Don A. has got the gout so bad?" The answer was, "You would have it bad, too, K., if you had a quarter-cask of sherry on tap in your bedroom, and got up to it whenever you were dry!"

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THERE is a strong paper in defense of infant baptism in the January number of the "Presbyterian Review." The senior Henry J. Van Dyke is known to many as one of the best furnished pastors of the Presbyterian Church, and his tone of mind is very far removed from the doubtful and uncertain. He makes much in this article of the absence of condemnation of this practice in the writings of the Fathers up to the time of Tertullian, and shows that his peculiar views had no adherents beyond the circle of the Montanists. Dr. Van Dyke is particularly happy in his review of the antipedobaptist argument from the silence of the Scriptures, though he admits that the Scripture warrant for the practice of infant baptism is not so much direct as inferential. We do not appreciate the strength of the argument for infant baptism drawn from its relation to the rite of circumcision as highly as does the writer; but what there is of it is strongly stated. With the answers given to the question, "Why do we not baptize all infants?" we have no sympathy whatever. If the practice is defensible, which we fully believe, it is so only on the concession of the right of all children to the ordinance on the ground that they are of the kingdom of heaven, and are entitled to the visible sign of that relation. We do not observe, in reading the article, any sign that the able author has considered a certain passage in the "Teaching of the Apostles" in its historical relation to the subject.

Many ministerial hearts will warm toward Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon when they read his paper on the "Double Function of Music in the Church." He shows how the torments of choirs and of "hymns by the choir" may be eliminated if the Church is willing to do it for the sake of the truth. The other papers in this well-printed Review are learned, but heavy, and principally valuable to those of Calvinistic antecedents.

The January number of the "Lutheran Church Review" is too denominational to be interesting beyond the circle of its own communion. The only exception to this is the review of Edersheim's "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah." While not a strong *critique*, it is appreciative, and not too much so. Edersheim is a Christian Jew, and approaches the study of Christ's life and work richly endowed by nature and education. Our Anglican brethren of High Church proclivities are having a hard time of it just now, as from many quarters their pretenses to "authority" and succession are being examined. The Rev. Dr. F. F. Burmeyer writes sharply of the Roman and Anglican doctrines of Church authority. It is evident to all who know the facts that these pretensions, as held by both the arrogant communions, have no historical basis beyond the ambitions and bigotries of an ecclesiasticism which is covetous of power and place.

The "Baptist Quarterly Review" is not open to the criticism of being too exclusively denominational, but seems to be made up with large com-

prehension of the value of timeliness in the treatment of topics. The most readable paper is by a layman, who follows "the footsteps of Whitefield." Dr. Stifler, one of the clearest and best thinkers of the Baptist Church, expounds the "Relation of the Gospels and the Pentateuch." But we exhort the editors to edit, not only to print, what may be offered, but to scan the field, and with editorial foresight procure what ought to be written.

Very different, indeed, is the tone of the "Andover Review." Its successive numbers cannot be taken up without seeing that this "editorial suggession" has the largest influence in the make-up of the Review. We should place this able and live periodical at the head of all, in this respect, if we did not mean to make the METHODIST REVIEW the foremost. For instance, the leader in the January number of the Andover discusses "The Contemporary Pulpit in its Influence on Theology," than which there cannot be a more timely subject. Professor Tucker sees, that while there is a revival of theological discussion in this country, and while the pulpit is not as theological as formerly, yet theology itself is being modified by the necessities of the pulpit, which is in direct contact with souls. "The modern pulpit has not been a critic of theologies. It has submitted them to its working tests. Its only criticism upon them has been in their disuse at points where they have failed to work. . . . One very considerable part of the work of the contemporary pulpit has been to give reality to the Christian experience and the Christian belief. . . . The preacher has found himself confronted, Sabbath after Sabbath, by Christianized congregations, and has endeavored to make the beliefs which take up the life and lead it on, after conversion, as real in their power as those which lead up to the act of conversion. . . . The tendency to reach back of inherited doctrinal beliefs to the essential truths which they once sought to embody is a conspicuous characteristic of the modern pulpit. . . . The ethical tendency of the modern pulpit has been its most marked tendency." We confess some surprise that Dr. Tucker should say that "The child, as such, has not acquired any definite theological standing. . . . Theology has not found any absolutely consistent way to save the child of the world." We fear that the characteristic inability of the New England Congregationalist to look beyond him has prevented him from the study of what the Methodist Episcopal Church has long taught concerning the *status* of the child in the kingdom of God. That relation has been consistently stated again and again by our theologians. But, while Dr. Tucker has a large heart, it is plain that he has never given attention to the consistency and beauty of that view which accepts all childhood as of the kingdom of God, and losing the divine favor only as it taints itself with actual sin, and which admits all children to baptism, not by some wire-drawn relation to the Abrahamic covenant, but because, being of the kingdom of God, they are entitled to its visible sign. It would be well for him to look over the fence and see that no consistent theory being possible to Calvinism, one which is satisfactory in phrasing the actual belief of the Calvinistic Churches may be found among "the

people called Methodists." And he can the better afford to do this, as Dr. Park has publicly stated that the Methodist Church must be looked to as the conservator of orthodoxy. And now the timeliness of the Andover's articles is exhibited in Mr. Dike's papers on the "Religious Problem of the Country Town." The writer displays genius in phrasing what many have thought and few have been able to express.

The February Andover, while less timely in its contributed articles, is even more so in its editorial matter. It gives a striking picture of the remarkable movement in London, under the highest ecclesiastical authority, by which the attention of the masses is called to religious services, and the churches filled and the people instructed by "missioners," a term recovered from Dryden. Those who wish to see how the methods of the Salvation Army can be improved upon and made effective by intelligence, will do well to read this paper and all others on the same subject. The best article, in a practical sense, in this number is that on the "New Charity," by the Rev. Henry Stimson. The writer traces the growth of the new charitable method from the experiment of Dr. Chalmers to the work of Miss Octavia Hill, in London, and some similar experiments in New York. The principles of the new charity are as follows:

1. Outdoor relief by the authorities in large cities is certain to become a political thing.
2. Aid so given goes almost wholly to those who can get along without.
3. Private benevolence is equal to the demands of the really needy.
4. Value should never be given (except in great emergencies, and then only while the emergency lasts) without securing some service and labor in return.
5. The condition of the poor can only be helped by helping them to help themselves.

No one can study the facts as revealed in England without seeing the truth of these propositions. They ought to be studied by all pastors and stewards who have charge of funds for the poor. Apart from the aged and ill of the Church, money ought not to be given without the Church receiving some work in return, and this can be managed with such safeguards that the self-respect of those who receive this aid can be preserved. The poor funds of the Church are better used to keep poor people at work than when they are given out in such a way as to release those able to work from the obligation of labor.

In a recent journey through the South we heard on every hand, "We of the South are the only ones who understand the Negro." We are not surprised, then, to find the same statement in the leading article of the Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Professor F. C. Woodward, of Wofford College, begins his paper on the "Freedman's Case in Reality" by speaking of Mr. Cable's recent paper on the "Freedmen's Case in Equity" as astounding, and then admits substantially every thing said by the writer he condemns. The spirit of the writer is excellent. But there is little trace of that vigorous grasp of the whole sub-

ject which is manifest in Mr. Cable's treatment, and the editor who fills out the form, with some observations of his own, shows much less than the correspondent he supplements. What is the use of praising the efforts to help the freedmen to education and self-respect, and then saying, "This is a white man's government and country, and white men will rule it as certain as fate?" This means that a minority will rule the South, and that this minority is the South. It is very evident that our Southern brethren fail to see how such statements justify the attitude of suspicion taken toward Southern utterances on the question of justice to the freedmen, not only by Northern political students, but by the freedmen themselves. Our brother editor surely sees that his statement makes color the foundation of political power on the one hand and of political subjection on the other. It is this remnant of the old days which is the chief hinderance to the South. It affects its administration of justice; of education; of business. It is this of which Mr. Cable complains as the chief hardship toward the Negro, and one of the far-reaching consequences to the whites as well as the blacks. The time will come when the South will be made to see, by forces which are within its own bosom, that this is not a white man's country alone, nor a white man's government alone, but a government for all colors alike. The spirit which can give utterance to such statements is preparing the way for rebukes from those within its own borders which will be more terrible than any thing yet known in its history. If the South does not soon come to see that all must be equal before the law and in the free exercise of their political rights, it will be made to see it by movements among the blacks which will disturb Southern confidence as it was not disturbed even by the civil war. The belief that the ruling classes in the South are not, despite all their fair words, in sympathy with the ideas of political equality on which the republic is based, is that which keeps the North distrustful both as to investing capital in the South and of trusting the South, as at present politically directed with governmental power. The North sees that the Southern problem is a difficult one, but it does not believe that it can be settled by violations of justice and equal rights. The penalty for injustice, an injustice freely expressed and advocated in the language quoted, will be social convulsion, whose initial movement will be in the South itself.

Our exchange list has few better magazines from a literary point of view than "The Catholic World." Intensely denominational, it is yet broader and more sympathetic toward other than Roman Christianity than any Roman periodical we know. The American atmosphere is one in which such generous sentiments are likely to flourish. "The Educational Question in England" is discussed by Charles Kent. It is a plea meant for England, but, to use an "Hibernicism," intended for this country, in behalf of giving State aid to the schools of all denominations. How seductive are the following sentences: "Could bigotry be mastered and long-rooted prejudice be subdued; could Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Wesleyans, and all the other religious sects in the country forget for once

their old dissensions, and work in harmony with the Catholic body and with each other, then the demand of the voluntary schools could not long be ignored, and their aim would soon be achieved." That is, every thing would be lovely if all would take the Roman Catholic position. There is much learning and some truth in the discussion of certain "Scriptural Questions" by the Rev. A. F. Hewitt. The paper on the Catholic National Council is wonderfully well written, and has some very striking passages. Referring to the "Pastoral" issued by the council, which all fair-minded men will admit to be one of the most stately and able papers ever sent out by any ecclesiastical body, the writer says, that "the pure atmosphere for religion to breathe is civil freedom. . . . The United States is the Church's home. . . . The Pastoral Letter shows that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States share the conviction that American political institutions are in advance of those in Europe in helping a man in saving his soul, and that they promise a triumph for Catholicity more perfect than its victory in mediæval times."

Some one has said that the Tory party in England is led by a cynic. The cynic is none other than the Marquis of Salisbury, whose portrait will be found in the February "Harper's." It is quite characteristic of English public men that they are almost always more than public men. Gladstone and Disraeli have been as eminent in the fields of literature as in the political world. The Marquis of Salisbury is an amateur chemist, as well as the leader of the Tory party. At this writing it seems that he may soon be the actual ruler of England, if not the prime minister. His face is a strong one, and he is one of the best speakers in England, though undoubtedly there is a cynical vein in his mental constitution, which does not increase his popularity. Possessor of one of the great homes of England, the sketch of his life, and of the ancestral house of the Cecils, is one of the best of recent magazine articles. Many will be interested in the account of the present *status* of the Lick Observatory, which, situated on Mount Hamilton, awaits the grand telescope which is yet only partially completed. "Harper's" has in every number at least one article of the highest class. This praise is to be awarded to the initial paper, by John Fiske, on "The Federal Union." Only a dull mind will fail to be interested in the paper on "Guardian Birds," by John R. Coryell. It has surprises for those who have not given attention to the study of the instincts and ways of the birds. But the article of the highest interest for all classes is the study of the peculiar city of Pullman, by Richard T. Ely. However beautiful the city may be architecturally, and materially prosperous, the writer makes it very plain that it is by no means an ideal town in its spirit. The company is omnipresent, and repression is the order of the town in many directions. It is absolutism of a very disagreeable and un-American order which prevails there. The frontispiece, an engraving of F. S. Church's "The Mermaid and the Seawolf," is a marvel of good work. It lacks only the color to make it as weird and as impressive as the original, which is a picture of great power. Almost equally good,

though much smaller, is the engraving of the California roadrunner and the rattlesnake, on page 423.

But when has American enterprise accomplished greater things than in the midwinter (February) number of the "Century?" In matter and engravings it is superb. Look at the frontispiece, after Bakhuisen. It is worthy of Rembrandt. The engraver has given texture as it has never before been rendered in black and white. If W. D. Howells does not know Florence, who does know the city of flowers? His Florentine Mosaic is charmingly written, and the illustrations, especially of the Ponte Vecchio, are beyond praise. Stedman's study of O. W. Holmes is of the first merit, and is accompanied by a portrait of Holmes as he was in the days when the Autocrat was most fruitful at the breakfast-table. But the popular interest of the number centers in Gen. Grant's account of the battle of Shiloh. It is not only interesting in itself, but is a fountain of interest, as it has brought out many criticisms and defenses. The General does not admit that he was surprised, and gives evidence in favor of his position which cannot be easily met. His paper is followed by one on his great antagonist, Albert Sidney Johnston, of whom a striking portrait is given. In "Canada as a Winter Resort" W. George Beers shows how the long Canadian winter is enlivened by popular amusements. The pictures of Canadian sports are good enough to set the young people wild over the pleasures of a Canadian winter.

To the paper by Dr. Van Dyke, in the February number of the "Homiletic Review," on "Ministerial Education," we give cordial approval. Especially is it true that "the qualification of professors needs the closest attention. We hope the time will never come when the controlling influence in our seminaries will be in the hands of mere specialists, whose breadth of vision and of spirit have been sacrificed to deepness. It would not be a bad rule to require that every professor should have filled a pulpit successfully for five or ten years before he assumes a chair." We are also in full sympathy with the sentence, "If more care were taken as to those who enter our seminaries, there would be less ground of complaint against those who come out." What the writer says concerning the spirit of piety among seminary graduates deserves attention. "Whenever the atmosphere of a seminary becomes distinctively literary, philosophic, or scientific, instead of religious—especially when its spirit is worldly ambition rather than zeal for Christ and his Gospel—the seminary has become a curse rather than a blessing to the Church." To all this we say, Amen.

The "Atlantic" has evidently given up the attempt to be a popular magazine, and contents itself with meeting the tastes of those who are superior to pictures. As such it cannot be neglected. No one of our monthlies so well maintains the literary tone, and its title-page has always something to fix the student's eye. The "New Portfolio," by O. W. Holmes, will of itself draw many readers, and the work done by that genial veteran is as good to-day as ever.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Supplement, Volume I. A-Cn. Royal octavo, pp. 993. New York: Harper & Brothers.

More than twenty years ago it was announced to the public that the authors and publishers above named would issue the work indicated, with the promise, "The work to be completed in about six volumes, royal octavo, of about one thousand pages each, copiously illustrated." The authors, compilers, or editors were not unknown to the public, and their reputation, together with that of the publishers, was accepted as a guarantee that all proper efforts would be made to render the undertaking successful. Dr. M'Clintock was widely learned, and possessed remarkable facilities for rendering his learning available, and also great aptness for utilizing other men's work; and Dr. Strong was recognized as a master of biblical and ecclesiastical learning, with almost exhaustless working powers. The first volume appeared in 1867, embracing all the articles under the letters A and B, comprised within fifty pages less than the promised thousand, altogether a satisfactory showing. The later volumes, which grew to be ten instead of the six first promised, appeared in alphabetical order, at slightly unequal intervals: vol. ii, 1867; iii, 1870; iv, 1872; v, 1873; vi, 1876; vii, 1877; viii, 1879; ix, 1880; x, 1881. Vol. iv contained as a preface a memorial of the senior editor, Dr. M'Clintock, whose death had occurred sometime in the preceding year. The conduct of the Cyclopædia then devolved on the junior editor, Dr. Strong, under whose management it was brought to completeness. That such an herculean task should have been accomplished within an interval of fifteen years between the dates of the first and the last volumes, would itself have been creditable to the industry and fidelity of those charged with the work, had that been their sole employment; but when it is known that all this was done as a side occupation by men charged with the duties and responsibilities of laborious and engrossing professorships, it seems simply marvelous.

The work as accomplished has received the decided approval of those best able to judge in such matters, not, indeed, as perfect or beyond criticism in respect to either the plan or the execution, but as vastly preferable to any other of its class in the English language, and as hopefully approximating the realization of its own ideal. Books of reference must be estimated almost entirely from their good points, since each one will value them in proportion to their trustworthiness in respect to the things upon which they may be consulted; and redundancy is only a venial fault, since no one need read any thing with which he is not concerned. Contrary to what often happens in a long-continued work, the scholarly and literary character of the Cyclopædia continued to improve to the end of the

last volume, so giving increased excellence to the whole work, but somewhat at the expense of the reputation of the earlier issues. The breadth of the field attempted to be covered renders the contents somewhat miscellaneous, and in their alphabetical dispositions things quite unlike in kind often appear in close proximity. This work includes three classes of subjects, each of which might have (and in fact has) its own cyclopedias—biblical, theological (including ecclesiastical), and biographical—and there are advantages to be gained by having them treated separately. There is also a convenience in having all these subjects combined in a single work, and especially so since the alphabetical arrangement of topics renders each subject or word readily accessible, and by reason of this its omnigenous character this Cyclopædia is found to be a highly valuable work for reference. It stands alone in its own department, and, in view of the labor and the pecuniary cost of its production, it will probably long remain without a rival.

It would have been easy for an intelligent critic to point out defects, especially of omissions, in any one of these volumes as soon as they were printed, for the highest perfection of such a work is only approximate, and with each year the number of these would increase, all the more rapidly because of the rapid growth of nearly every department of learning, and accordingly a Supplement began to be talked of before the main work was completed; and so as soon as released from the principal work the surviving editor addressed himself to its preparation, and the first installment is now in hand—the volume named at the head of this article. Two more volumes are indicated as likely to be called for, perhaps more. In character the Supplement is very much like that to which it is appended, being made up of condensed summaries of the recent additions made to biblical and theological learning. But the chief additions are in the department of biography, for which an explanation, somewhat like an apology, is given in the preface, which says: "Many will find in the brief sketches, even of men whose names have seemed comparatively obscure, one of the most interesting and useful features of the work." Perhaps so; but the memory of persons and names is wonderfully perishable, against which tendency printer's ink is an unsafe embalming, and a cyclopedia may readily become a mausoleum of unremembered greatness.

This Supplement to the Cyclopædia must, like the chief work itself, be a necessity to those who would aim at accuracy as well as breadth in the study of the subjects to which this great work is devoted, and to which it is the most easily available key.

Encyclopædia of Theology. By Dr. J. F. Rabiger, Professor of Theology in the University of Breslau. Translated, with additions to the History and Literature, by the Rev. John M'Pherson, M.A., Findon (Scotland). Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 430. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. (Clark's Foreign Theological Library, New Series, Vol. XX.) New York: Scribner & Welford.

In the growth and development of the science of theology, the embodiment of the whole system, its substance and form, with its history and literature, has become a necessity; and to this demand, as is their wont in such cases,

the theologians of Germany have responded with characteristic copiousness of learning and fullness of details; while, contrariwise, those who use the English language have simply touched the subject by rendering into their own tongue the productions of their Teutonic contemporaries. In Germany the subject has been treated systematically by Hagenbach, and Hoffman, and Rothe, and Pelt, and now by Räbiger, and scarcely less fully, though more incidentally, by Lange and a host of others. But our own writers, on both sides of the ocean, have done comparatively little, in the way of the formal statement and discussion of the subject, except to reproduce partial translations or abridgments of the works of their German instructors. Of these the best known is that of Hagenbach, which has recently been issued in this country, by the Methodist Book Concern, ostensibly as a new work, "on the basis of Hagenbach," a claim that, as we intimated in our recent notice of that publication, is scarcely justified by its appearance. Of that work, the translator and redactor of that now under notice remarks, with a freedom that we hesitated to use, that "in all essential respects the American work may be regarded as simply a translation of the German work; the translation being in certain parts somewhat free, but in other sections quite close and literal." The translator also notices, as we also did, the failure of the American editors to even attempt to adapt the work to English-speaking students or to bring down the history and literature to the latest date, an omission the more unaccountable because it is conceded that it was not the result of any lack of ability. Hagenbach's book appeared in 1833, and though revised by the author in the successive editions, yet it is now about as it appeared more than ten years ago, though in the meantime very much has been published on the subject, and, indeed, a new literature called into being.

Räbiger's work (of which only the first of two volumes is before us) is to date; the style is pleasant and easy to read, because less distinctively German than most of its class, for which, perhaps, the translator is especially to be thanked, and its presentation of its subject is luminous and vivacious. But it is thoroughly German in its methods, and in respect to its stand-point, and the consequent presentation of its conclusions; and by so much it is not well adapted to the use of English and American students in theology. It is, however, about the best available hand-book on its subject, and as such it is quite deserving of the attention of all scholars in its broad theme. As such we can heartily recommend it, awaiting, however, in the patience of hope, the appearance of a thoroughly wrought out treatise on the subject from the pen, and the brain and heart, of some American scholar, who shall be, also, a thoroughly evangelical believer.

Ecclesiology. A Treatise on the Church and Kingdom of God on Earth. By Edward D. Morris, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Lane Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 187. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The true title to this volume is given decidedly the more correctly in the head-line at the top of the title-page—"The Christian Doctrine in Outline." The term "Ecclesiology," though it may, in accordance with

its etymology, and in view of the functions of the Church, include all this, has by usage and in its historical scope a more definite and restricted meaning, by which it indicates the outward Church, with its conditions and accidents, rather than either its indwelling spirit or its truth and doctrine. Evidently, however, the title here used has been chosen because it was the writer's purpose to set forth his outline of doctrines as they are held and taught by the Church. This method has its manifest advantages, though it is in some things specially liable to misleading tendencies.

The book is made up from the substance of lectures prepared for and delivered to the classes of the seminary in which the author is a professor of an honorable record, both personally and officially. But the matter has been thoroughly re-written, and cast in the form of consecutive chapters. These are: the Historical Church, its impersonal constituents (doctrines); its personal constituents (members); its government and polity; its social nature (as a "congregation of faithful men"). By this method the author succeeds in reviewing the entire subject contemplated, but not always aiming at the matter in hand the most directly. The special value of the work is its character, as indicated by its chief title, as indicating how God in his grace and Christ in his work uses the Church with the indwelling Spirit as the one great agency for the salvation of men. The idea is a good one, and, although it has been very greatly abused, it is still to be cherished and made much of.

Revelation: Its Nature and Record. By HEINRICH EWALD, Author of "The History of Israel," etc. Translated from the German by the Rev. THOMAS GOODBY, B.A., President of the Baptist College, Nottingham, England. 8vo. pp. 482. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. (Clarke's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vol. XIX.) New York: Scribner & Welford.

Ewald occupies a clearly defined position among biblical and theological authorities, which is that of a rationalistic writer, but conservative in his modes of thought and reverent in his spirit toward spiritual and religious truths. He thus occupies a kind of middle ground; the destructive rationalists have carried his first principles much further than he was inclined to do, while the defenders of the supernatural in revelation have objected to them as entirely insufficient, and perhaps logically committed to the uses that have been made of them by the enemies of Christianity. Respecting the ability and learning displayed by him, all are agreed that he has very few equals, and also that he is fair in his statements, and not disposed to overdraw in making his conclusions; the objections of his opponents being not against either his manner or his logic, but against the premises assumed at the beginning, which, if accepted, would sustain all his conclusions—perhaps even more. But apart from these considerations, the work possesses great merits for its learning, and especially for the suggestions that it makes, unpurposed perhaps, but very forcibly, that the whole subject of which it treats needs to be examined in the light of a broader scholarship than that which gives shape to the popular conceptions of the subject here named.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-book of the Gospel of Matthew. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER. Th.D. Translated from the sixth edition of the German by Rev. Peter Christie. The Translation Revised and Edited by Frederic Crombie. D. D. (St. Andrews), and William Stewart, D. D. (University of Glasgow). With a Preface and Supplementary Notes to the American Edition by GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary (Madison, N. J). 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The production of the American edition of Meyer's great commentary on the New Testament is proceeding with assuring steadiness and sufficient rapidity. Nearly one half is already issued, and each succeeding volume more than justifies the promises originally made to the public by the publishers, and the hopes inspired by its predecessors. The last published volume, on Matthew, is especially interesting, both on account of its primacy in the canon, and also because its methods of discussion by the commentator indicate the tone and spirit of the whole work; and it may be added, that in it both the excellences and the objectionable peculiarities of the author are especially conspicuous, and, like all that follows, it is learned and able, with a strange commingling of rationalizing and evangelical supernaturalism, the latter greatly preponderating. In respect to critical exegesis it has few equals. The work has been thoroughly gone over and largely annotated by the American editor, with the design to counterwork some of the author's extreme Germanisms of construction and interpretation, and to re-examine and determine anew some of the many questions—historical, linguistical, and exegetical—with which the work abounds; and as the author's own statements are given, and also the editor's views on the same subjects, the reader has the opportunity to compare the two, and accept either, as may seem most probably correct. The work is designed for students rather than general readers, and the manifest intention is to show what the text declares, rather than to "improve" upon it, for either practical or homiletical purposes; and within that purpose the success of its execution is altogether satisfactory. This new edition of Meyer's great work, which hitherto has been known to English readers only by the Edinburgh issue, and so has become a necessity to all critical students of the New Testament, has some decided advantages over that other in its editorial arrangements and enrichments, and it will also be preferred for its more condensed form, and, especially, its much less price.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

George Eliot's Life, as Related in her Letters and Journals. Arranged and Edited by her Husband, J. W. CROSS. With Illustrations. In Three Volumes. 12mo, pp. 348, 324, 340. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Some thirty years ago, as we were about to make a journey by rail, we took with us, to read by the way, a new novel, by an unknown author, just issued by the Harpers, "Adam Bede, by George Eliot." The reading soon showed us that here was something decidedly above the usual

order of anonymous story-telling, and very naturally the question began to be asked, Who is George Eliot? and, What about Adam Bede? but satisfactory answers to these queries were not readily forthcoming.

The American publishers could give very little account of the authorship of the book, and so little expectation of any considerable sale had they entertained, that they had not stereotyped it, but after striking off a small edition they had ordered the types to be redistributed. But by degrees the work became better known, and, of course, more highly appreciated; a new edition was called for (and now it was stereotyped), and widely read, and then it became the fashion to talk about, and to praise, "Adam Bede." And from that time onward a new novel "by the author of Adam Bede" was sure of a ready sale and a large reading.

It soon appeared that the British critics knew as little as their American *confreres* of this newly risen star, and conjectures were freely indulged as to the writer's person, character, and sex (for somehow the latter was suspected), and for a time—but not for very long—the great unknown remained undiscovered. At length it became known that "George Eliot"—a name assumed as a blind by the nameless writer—was indeed Miss Mary Ann Evans, born November, 1819, at Arbury Farm, in Warwickshire, where her father was an "agent," and in the quiet seclusion of that vicinity she herself had passed more than her first twenty years. It also now became known that she had issued one or more earlier productions, especially "Scenes in Clerical Life," which, however, attracted but little notice, and was not much known till it rose to fame with its author's later works. "George Eliot's" reputation as a novelist was won at a single stroke, its recognition was immediate, and though fairly well sustained by later publications, which continued to appear during a quarter of a century, it never grew beyond the altitude attained at that single bound.

The inclination sometimes observed to find in the writings of novelists and poets autobiographical references has a wide field for its exercise in the early history of this remarkable woman. She was, as to her environments, a country child, living among moderately well-to-do, intelligent, and religious country people. Her school education was neither wholly deficient nor yet extensive. She saw but few books, and yet occasionally some stray volume of Scott, or some other popular writer, fell into her hands, and became assimilated into her spiritual being. Her father was a strict Church of England man, and religious after the fashion of his sect; but it is quite evident that there was a decided Methodistic element (probably not of the later Wesleyan type) in her social surroundings, traces of which appear very plainly in her works, especially in "Adam Bede" and in "Silas Marner;" and some who have carefully noted her references to certain spiritual phenomena among some of her characters have suspected that she wrote these things from her own reminiscences of early experiences. The same things also appear more definitely in her letters. But she was a thinker, a dreamy speculator, and very wayward; and if her early experience was as has been suspected, then, evidently, like

another and a greater personage in the spiritual realm, she "abode not in the truth." It is quite certain that she became a negative or skeptical unbeliever, and that in abandoning Christianity as a system of faith she in certain important particulars also cut loose from its ethical restraints.

Her removal from the place and the relations of her childhood, girlhood, and early womanhood was simultaneously the epoch of her mental, spiritual, and social transformation. Going out into the great world, she, by the law of natural selection, became one of the coterie of learned infidels whose names are familiar to all readers of current literature; and, being the peer in intellect and availability of the ablest of them, she was sought for as a contributor to the class of periodicals of which the "Westminster Review" is the recognized and typical leader. About this time, and among her new associates, she met Mr. George Henry Lewes, with whom her future life became intimately associated. Mr. Lewes, for some unexplained reason, was living apart from his family, for whom, however, he made pecuniary provision; it is usually assumed, but not made apparent, that the separation was justifiable on his part. Pretty soon the relations between Mr. Lewes and Miss Evans became more intimate than those of friends; in plain English, she became his mistress, the two living together as though husband and wife, but never having been married, and he having a lawful wife, with a family of children, living elsewhere. This gross scandal was confessed by the parties to it, and the female partner, writing to some of her former intimate friends, earnestly justified her conduct, and assumed in one of her letters, which her surviving *husband*, Mr. Cross, publishes without comment, that no "unworldly or unsuperstitious person who is sufficiently acquainted with the realities of life can pronounce my [her] relations with Mr. Lewes immoral." Such was the practical outcome of Miss Evans's (popularly known as George Eliot, the ablest female novelist of the age) "emancipation" from the superstition of her early (and better) days. Her genius, in some degree, saved her from the fate that society usually visits upon notoriously unchaste women; but neither she nor her paramour could altogether escape the odium incurred by their unsavory relations.

Mr. Lewes died some two or three years before his *quasi*-wife, after which she married Mr. J. W. Cross, who is spoken of as an American, formerly on the staff of the "New York Herald," her junior by thirty years, who now becomes her biographer.

Estimated according to its literary merits, the biography here given is deserving of much praise. Agreeable to the modern fashion, it is pre-raphaelitish, painting the picture true to nature, of which fashion much may be said both for and against it. But it is neither the work of a Boswell nor a Froude; for the selection of matter given to the public seems to have been made conscientiously and with good taste, and, because her one supreme offense against good morals and decency could neither be denied nor palliated, the editor permits her to tell the story of her shame in her own way. Her genius, in the form of cleverness, is nowhere more signally manifest than in her letters, and by arranging these together, nearly

in the order of their dates, with only a slight *nexus* of narrative here and there, the editor succeeds in making out a life-like and realistic picture of her career, with clear revelations of her interior history. It is a remarkable and brilliant history; but the picture of its best stages is not quite pleasing, and for the most the whole is the record of a fallen spirit—and still brilliant, though fallen.

The Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, Founder of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. By Rev. A. W. DRURY, A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop J. WEAVER, D.D. 12mo, cloth, pp. 384. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House. $1 20.

The appearance at this time of a new and carefully prepared biography of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, the founder of the "Church of the United Brethren in Christ," the life-friend of Asbury, at whose request he united with Dr. Coke and his associates in the consecration of the first American bishop, is particularly opportune, particularly in respect to Methodist readers. He was a native of Dillenburg, Germany, the son of a minister of the German Reformed Church, to which ministry he was himself ordained in 1749. Only two or three years later, in response to a call for missionaries to go out to the German settlements in America, he with two others offered themselves, and were accepted and sent forth, and Otterbein became pastor of a Church in Lancaster, where he soon became distinguished for his earnestness as a preacher and his zeal in religious work. He early co-operated with Strawbridge, and afterward with the later Methodist itinerants, and thus became the friend and fellow-laborer of Asbury; and when, at the Christmas Conference, Asbury was to be set apart to the superintendency, mindful of his brother in Christian labor, the expectant bishop craved, as a privilege, that Otterbein might take part in the solemn service.

Otterbein usually preached in the German language, which largely confined his labors to the German colonists of Pennsylvania and Maryland. His unusual religious zeal, and his methods in his church work, exposed him to much opposition from his own people, and at length compelled him into a kind of ecclesiastical independence with the church that he ministered to in Baltimore, and in fellowship with which other churches in various parts grew up under his auspices, and were served by a kind of itinerant ministry, not very unlike that of the Methodists. His principal coadjutor in his evangelistic work was Martin Boehm, a Mennonite minister of Lancaster, whose son Henry became a Methodist itinerant, and was known only a short time ago among us as the centenarian Father Boehm. The association of ministers and churches thus raised up formed a very imperfectly consolidated ecclesiastical body, which after Otterbein's decease became somewhat disorganized and fell into partial decay, but was afterward resuscitated and reorganized, and is now among the most effective of the minor sects of the country, with a system of church government largely patterned after that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Otterbein died in 1813, and when the Conference met in Baltimore that year Asbury, by request, preached a memorial sermon in his church, which was

also attended by the whole Conference. Respecting the event, Asbury wrote in his Journal:

> By request, I discoursed on the character of the angel of the Church of Philadelphia, in allusion to William Otterbein, the holy, the great Otterbein, whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German church, where were assembled the members of our Conference and many of the clergy of the city. *Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God, towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only to God and the people of God.*

This new "Life" seems to have been prepared with great care, and the work evinces a good degree of literary ability. Strangely enough, the materials for constructing a complete biography were found to be very incomplete. Unlike Asbury, Otterbein seems not to have kept a Journal, and both he and his followers were more intent on saving souls than on recording their own exploits. The author has, however, succeeded in constructing a continuous narrative, and in elucidating not a few obscure passages in the history of the times and events of which he treats. The work constitutes a valuable addition to the religious and ecclesiastical history of the country; and while it will stand as an honorable memorial of a good and devoted Christian minister, it will also indicate the honorable ancestry of the denomination of Christians that own him as their founder—a body which, though not called by the family name, are very nearly akin, in form and spirit, as well as in origin, to our own.

Montcalm and Wolfe. By FRANCIS PARKMAN, author of "Pioneers of France in the New World," etc. Fourth edition. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 514, 502. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.

American writers of history not only excel in excellence and ability all other classes of writers in their own country, but they also very successfully, perhaps, compete in their chosen specialty with all others that use their mother-tongue. And having asserted the claims of our native historians as a class, we advance a step further, and assign, without hesitation, the first place among them to Dr. Parkman. He selected his field for investigation and illustration when a young man, and has continued to cultivate it with unflagging assiduity for nearly half a century; and the results of his labors, though less voluminous than those of some others, rank with the very best. No other department of American history so blends together the romance of adventure and the beginnings of far-reaching complications, the results of which are still in the stage of incomplete development, as that of the colonial period of French and English occupation and growth. The struggle of national rivalry that had been drawn out through a hundred years in North America, with a decided advantage on the side of the French, culminated in the conflict of which Montcalm and Wolfe were the rival leaders, and the representatives of the two nations that had so long divided the possession of the continent. The decision of that contest on the Plains of Abraham, where the two heroes fell in the same battle, and where English valor and strategy prevailed, recast the fashion

of the world's history, made North America English and Protestant, and the United States more than a possibility of the future.

Dr. Parkman has gone over and through this whole subject with a zeal that has evaded no labor, searching out every point from original authorities, and writing down nothing as ascertained till freed from all possible uncertainty. The field has been all his own, and so fully has he occupied it that it is not likely that he will have a successor. The list of his earlier publications indicates the thoroughness of his treatment of the whole subject. They are: "Pioneers of France in the New World," "The Jesuits in North America," "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," "The Old Régime in Canada," and "Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV." These last published volumes are a little out of the order of time, as between the period they cover and the close of the next older there remains untouched the first half of the eighteenth century.

The work is as readable as it is conscientious and trustworthy; and the publishers give us the books in a style that is worthy of the contents of these superb volumes.

Dr. Summers. A Life Study. By O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D., Editor Christian Advocate, Nashville, Tenn. With a portrait. 12mo, pp. 352. Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Dr. Summers was a man of strongly marked characteristics. Richly endowed by nature, and especially gifted with will-power, learned and cultivated much beyond what is usually found among "self-educated" men, he became a leader of men, and was freely accorded a place in the front rank of his company. He was prominent in all the transactions that grew out of the separation of Southern Methodism from the parent body, and though not "to the manor born," no native of the sunny South was more pronounced than he in favor of the separation. He was capable of great labor, and he well knew how to turn it to good account. The volume before us is a cross between a funeral eulogy and a memoir. It is decidedly cleverly done, and it indicates that the subject and the author were kindred spirits, and genial ones too. It is well adapted to its probable design.

The Mela at Tulsipur. Glimpses of Missionary Life and Work in India. A Book for Children. By the Rev. B. H. BADLEY, M.A., for Ten Years a Missionary in North India. Square 8vo, pp. 176. Religious Tract Society, 56 Paternoster Row (London).

A "mela" is a kind of Hindu camp-meeting, connected in some way with the worship of their gods and their religious festivals. Mr. Badley has been in the habit of attending these, and preaching Christ to the multitudes. Accounts of some of these adventures make up the body of this pleasant volume.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Recently Discovered and Published by Philotheos Briennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. Edited, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. A New Edition, Revised and Greatly Enlarged. 8vo, pp. cxv and 85. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In March of last year Professors Hitchcock and Brown brought out an edition of the "Teaching" comprising little else than the original Greek, very handsomely reproduced, with a fair translation—neither slavishly literal nor unwarrantably liberal. It was well received by the public, as it deserved to be, and through it the public has come to an extensive and correct notion of the claims and character of the work so reproduced. They now give us a new edition, but so much enlarged and modified by thorough and able revision that it has become a new work. The new preface gives, in a few remarks, the state of the case of the newly found and published manuscript, and clearly vindicating its claim as a genuine copy of a very old work, of a semi-patristic authority. The "Introduction and Notes," extending over a hundred pages, constitute the distinguishing feature of this new edition. The editors, in these, discuss their subject in all its possible aspects, vindicating the integrity of the text, and giving a history of the work as it was known to the early Church, and also some account of its *status* in modern patristic literature before the discovery of this manuscript; and after these things follows a learned and elaborate disquisition on the nature of the work itself, and its relations to kindred compositions in the early Church. In tourists' phrase, they may be said to have "done" the subject, and that so thoroughly and satisfactorily and exhaustively, that it will not need to be repeated. After this full examination of the subject, we find no reason to change our own views from what was said in our remarks in our issue for October last. The trustworthiness of the manuscript discovered by Bishop Briennios, as a true copy of the tract described or referred to by some of the early Fathers, may be said to be fairly established, and the work itself is not without its value, though still it adds very little to the stores of practically valuable instruction possessed by the Church. Professors Hitchcock and Brown have done their own work with decided skill and ability, as writers and scholars, and so have earned the thanks of the Christian public.

Workday Christianity; or, The Gospel in the Trades. By ALEXANDER CLARK, Author of "The Gospel in the Trees," etc. 12mo, pp. 300. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The late Dr. Alexander Clark, sometime editor of the (Protestant) "Methodist Recorder" (Pittsburg), was a man of much more than average taste and genius. His book on "The Gospel in the Trees" was favorably received by the public, and the one now before us has many of its best qualities, especially its happy aptitude for finding pleasant and instructive lessons in common, every-day affairs.

New Cyclopedia of Prose Illustrations, adapted to Christian Teaching; embracing Mythology, Analogies, Legends, Parables, Emblems, Metaphors, Similes, Allegories, Proverbs; Classic, Historic, and Religious Anecdotes, etc. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. With an Introduction by Rev. STEPHEN H. TYNG, D.D. First Series. Twenty-fifth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 704. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

New Cyclopedia of Prose Illustrations, adapted to Christian Teaching, etc. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. Second Series. Ninth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 791. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Cyclopedia of Poetry, embracing the Best from all Sources and on all Subjects. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. First Series. Ninth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 696. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Cyclopedia of Poetry. Second Series, embracing Poems Descriptive of the Scenes, Incidents, Persons, and Places of the Bible. Also Indexes to Foster's Cyclopedias. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. Fourth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 500 and 328. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Cyclopedias are the omnibuses of all the various departments and forms of thought or science, or the store-houses into which the scattered harvests of learning are garnered for use. The one here given in its quadruplex form seems designed to receive and retain the gleaning from many fields, and its abundance indicates the richness of the harvests from which its stores have been gathered. The work was commenced with simply the design to bring together a collection of religious anecdotes and illustrative paragraphs. The material was found to be so rich that when one volume had been filled the supply was not exhausted, and a second was added; and as both of these contained only prose, there seemed to be a demand for a volume, and at length a second, of poetry. And now we have before us four plethoric volumes, nearly three thousand closely printed double-columned pages of elaborately prepared matter.

The thought of the age embodies itself, not so much in treatises and elaborate works, as in brief and pungent expressions of single ideas, which are spoken from the lips, or printed in forms that remain but for a day. It has been the purpose of the compiler in the first and second of the above-named volumes, to seize and render more permanent these fugitive utterances, so as to render them available for wider and more permanent uses. How aptly they have answered to a manifest public demand is best indicated by the sales that have been made, and the public verdict thus expressed will be justified by an examination of the works. No classification of subjects is attempted, and the alphabetical arrangement is carried throughout the volumes. The distinct articles amount to more than twelve thousand. Each volume has its index of topics.

In making up the first volume of poetical pieces (the third of the set) the whole field of poetical literature was freely drawn upon, but with an evident inclination to preserve for the readers such minor productions of the less celebrated poetical writers as seem to possess real value, pieces found in transient publications, or in volumes chiefly made up of inferior productions, which are doomed to an early oblivion. There are many poems of decided excellence that can be preserved to the public only as

they shall be gathered up and garnered in such compilations; and the editor of this volume has done a valuable public service in bringing so many of these into the form in which they here appear. It is only an act of justice to add that the work as accomplished indicates a very wide acquaintance with that department of literature, and both taste and critical judgment in the selection of the pieces to be used. As compared with most of the popular cyclopedias of poetry, the special excellence of this one is, that an unusually large proportion of the pieces are such as are not found in the works of the great poets, and the reader will be pleased to note the wealth of the poetic stores that have been contributed by little-known writers.

The second of the poetic volumes (the fourth of the series) consists almost entirely of scenes and incidents taken from the Bible, which fact, if not favorable to a high average of poetry, compensates for any such lack by the value of the subjects, and often by the quaint simplicity, the ballad-like character of many of the compositions. Some of these, too, are of a high grade of poetical merit. The whole number of poems in the two volumes exceeds four thousand. Both of these volumes are valuable companions for the household.

Appended to the last volume is a series of Indexes—first an "Analytical" one, covering all the subjects treated in any one of the four volumes, with the necessary references, the whole having something of the nature of an "*Index Rerum.*" Next follows an "Index of Poetical Authors;" next, an "Index of Prose Authors;" after that, an "Index of Scripture Texts;" and lastly, an "Index of First Lines and Authors" of poems. The importance of this series of books is not so much in their high scholarship as in their available utility, though even in respect to the former quality they are very far from being wholly deficient. To be able to compile well and wisely is a literary qualification of great value, and not infrequently the judicious compiler does better work for the public than the original writer. Dr. Foster, though, as he apologetically declares, he has been rendered unable to endure the work of the ministry, has rendered a valuable service to the cause of Christian instruction by the preparation of these noble volumes, and we congratulate him, but more the purchasers, in view of the large sales with which the work has met. Into whatever household these volumes may come they will prove a blessing.

History of the Christian Church. By PHILIP SCHAFF. Vol. IV, Mediæval Christianity, from Gregory I. to Gregory VII., A. D. 590–1073. 8vo, pp. 799. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It is impossible in the space allowed for a book notice to even begin to do justice to such a work as that now in hand. We have, in noticing earlier volumes, recognized its great value; and as the work advances the qualities that then commanded our admiration become more and more apparent. The period covered by this volume, over five hundred years, though often considered an era of mental inaction, was quite otherwise in Church

affairs, and Church history was about all of history during that time. Besides the relations of the Church to the State, and ecclesiastical affairs pure and simple, the conflict between the East and the West, and the relations of the Church to Mohammedanism, came into notice during this period, as did also some of the most famous doctrinal controversies. The biography is especially rich and abundant. Dr. Schaff and his co-laborers have already made it apparent that their work must hereafter be recognized as the great Church history of our times. For one who would really master the subject, we know of no single work that we could recommend with a fuller confidence.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1884. Edited by Mrs. B. R. COWAN, Delaware, Ohio. Pp. 112. Columbus, Ohio: State Journal Office.

This is a creditable production in respect to the book-maker's art; but in respect to its contents it is simply marvelous. The organization of the Society seems to be thorough and nearly complete, with its nine distinct "Branches," covering the whole country eastward from the Rocky Mountains, and northward from Virginia and Kentucky, each itself a complete working system, and yet the whole joined into a consolidated unity. Its workers, sixty in all, are found in India (in great force), in China (at four distinct points), in Japan, South America, Mexico, Italy, and Bulgaria, and one of them also accompanies the pioneer missionary expedition to Korea. Its real estate, in the missions, is valued at nearly two hundred thousand dollars, and its annual income approximates the same amount. The children in the schools are counted by thousands.

Evolution and Christianity. By BENJAMIN F. TEFFT, D.D., LL.D. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The Rev. B. F. Tefft, D.D., LL.D., one of our most fruitful and well furnished writers, has been moved by the skeptical effects produced by the doctrine of evolution to write an answer to this form of infidelity, under the title "Evolution and Christianity." He holds that evolution cannot be victorious without the destruction of Christianity. He thus gains his starting-point, and devotes the first part of the work to the definition of the origin and character of the doctrine of evolution, examining the writings of Darwin, Spencer, Hæckel, H. W. Beecher, and Robert Ingersoll. He then proceeds to the definition of Christianity. Believing that every religion is based on consciousness, he appeals to the long list of philosophers who defend this authority. His third book is given to the relations of our religion, the fruitless oppositions to Christianity, Christianity and ancient science, Christianity and modern science, and Christianity and modern speculation. The fourth book investigates the history of Christianity, and the fifth the influence of Christianity. In this way he draws comparisons between the influence of Christianity as now existing, and what the world would be under the acceptance of the

doctrines of evolution. The book displays wide reading, a great deal of sound learning, and a most ardent devotional spirit; yet the reader, while perusing it, will hardly forget that some of our ablest and most orthodox theologians—M'Cosh, for instance—hold that the doctrine of evolution is consistent with the Christian scheme. We regard the conditions of the contest in a somewhat different light from Dr. Tefft, yet the book deserves, for the breadth of its views and its clearness of statement, its cogency of argument and its broad intelligence, a careful perusal, both of those who accept and reject Christianity. It is certainly the writer's ablest work, and if it be not held conclusive by all, it will be only because of his having committed himself substantially to the doctrine that no theory of evolution is consistent with Christian religion. It is to this latter point that attention is being increasingly attracted, and there are some, perhaps an increasing number, who, accepting evolution in the general sense as true, do not find between it and Christianity a hopeless antagonism. One highly creditable fact in the doctor's book is, that he does not indulge in loose rhetorical denunciations. There are many eloquent chapters descriptive of the work and the triumph of Christianity, and he may well feel content with this crown of his literary labors.

Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes, with an Introductory Essay, Notes, and Indexes. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE. Professor of Greek in the Johns-Hopkins University, Baltimore. 12mo, pp. 395. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Harpers, with a reasonable confidence that the study of Greek in our colleges will not be immediately given up, have set about issuing a "New Classical Series, under the Editorial Supervision of Henry Drisler, LL.D., Jay Professor of Greek in Columbia College." The work above named is the third of that series, having been preceded by "The Protagoras of Plato," and "Herodotus" (Books VI, VII). The editorial work appears to be well done, in respect to both the preparation of the text and the Introduction and notes. Both instructors and learners will find them valuable.

Life and Journal of Mrs. Hester Ann Rogers. Condensed and Combined. By Rev. E. DAVIES (Evangelist). 18mo, pp. 191. Holiness Book Concern, Reading, Mass. Cloth, 25 cents.

John Knox. By WM. M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Limitations of Life," etc. With steel portrait. 12mo, pp. 217. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Biographical series of classes of persons, distinguished and discriminated by their callings and careers, seem to be a favorite form of literary productions, of which the "English Men of Letters" was the first in time, and perhaps it may be said to have well maintained its priority of position.

The work named above is No. 9 of "Heroes of Christian History," a series of popular biographies by eminent English and American authors. Its predecessors are Wilberforce, Henry Martin, Doddridge, Carey, Chalmers, Robert Hall, Baxter,—a very constellation of "bright particular

stars," to which it is altogether fitting that the name of John Knox should be added. And who could more fitly undertake and execute the work of preparation than Dr. Taylor? It is well executed; an appreciative, and though succinct, yet a comprehensive, sketch of Scotland's great reformer.

Easter Greeting. By Mrs. M. L. DICKINSON. Square 16mo. New York: H. H. B. Angel.

Six brief but exquisite Easter poems: "The Easter Guest," "Thine Easter Day," "Easter-Tide," "Easter Dawn," "Easter Lilies," and "After Easter." It forms a very pleasant Easter study, or present.

Fly-Rods and Fly-Tackle. Suggestions as to their Manufacture and Use. 16mo. pp. 353. By HENRY P. WELLS. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Such a book may seem to be quite outside of the range of our Review, which addresses itself to the reading of learned divines. But since from that profession have come some of the most celebrated men of the rod—from Izaak Walton to the late Doctor Bethune—it may still be thought not impossible that some such will be found among our own readers. To all such, therefore, we commend this little volume.

Gesta Christi; or, a History of Humane Progress under Christianity. By CHAS. LORING BRACE. Author of "Races of the Old World," etc. Fourth Edition, with New Preface and Supplementary Chapter. 12mo, pp. 520. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

A special plea for Christianity as a beneficent, social force, abundantly sustained and illustrated from the history of the race. The book has been well received and widely read, and though not especially learned, it is decidedly available for its purpose.

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Herodotus. With a Life of Herodotus, an Epitome of his History, a Summary of the Dialect, and Explanatory Notes. By AUGUSTUS C. MERRIAM, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Greek in Columbia College, New York. 16mo, pp. 369. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Greek typology is decidedly good, and the editorial matters annexed will prove valuable to students. The text itself, like pure gold, needs no praise. Until the modern reformers of educational process shall have banished the study of Greek from the schools—may the day be far off!—good old Herodotus will be had in kindly remembrance.

The Gospel in all Lands. Illustrated. An Evangelical and Undenominational Missionary Magazine. Eugene R. Smith, Publisher. Volume 9, January–June, 1884.

Readers of missionary periodicals have found in the work above named, in its monthly issues, and especially since it passed into Mr. Smith's hands, a rich supply of the very best kind of missionary intelligence, thoroughly evangelical; and though nominally "undenominational," it is rather "ecumenical," as to Protestantism in all lands. The bound volumes constitute a valuable repertory of missionary operations.

Paradise Found. The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole. A Study of the Prehistoric World. By WILLIAM F. WARREN, S.T.D., LL.D., President of Boston University, etc. With Original Illustrations. 12vo, pp. 505. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

This is a remarkable book, well written, calm, quiet, and self-assured. Respecting its theory we have no opinions, because we fully believe that all argument on the subject is simply fanciful theorizing. The question has been asked whether it may not be that the author is following the example of a certain learned archbishop, and trying to show how much proof may be adduced in favor of the most absurd proposition. If so, he is to be congratulated on his success.

The Praise Songs of Israel. A New Rendering of the Book of Psalms. By JOHN DEWITT, D.D., of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J., and Member of the American Old Testament Revision Committee.

This is manifestly the fruit of a thoroughly executed labor of love, in which scholarship, good judgment, and indefatigable diligence happily co-operated, and the outcome is a decidedly pleasant volume, readable and instructive. The preface of twenty large pages is an able and judicious essay favoring larger liberty in the rendering of the sacred text than is commonly allowed, making the literal sense the chief and governing purpose in all cases. The exterior form of the book is worthy of its contents, and altogether it is a work of taste as well as of learning.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 325. Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D. D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL. D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes. By A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Volume I, Apostolic Fathers—Justin Martyr, Irenæus. 8vo, pp. 597 (double columns). Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Company.

English readers have been granted access to the Fathers within the very recent past by the translations procured and published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, of Edinburgh, among which the series of the Ante-Nicene Fathers holds the first place in respect to both seniority and value. An American edition is now promised (of which the volume above named is the first-fruits) by what appears to be a company organized for that special purpose. The Edinburgh edition is one of very great value, and its publishers have conferred an inestimable boon on English-speaking Christendom by its publication; but as a first attempt it was almost necessarily imperfect, and so suggestive of further elaboration. The library has also become voluminous and costly, and it is not strange therefore that an American reprint has seemed to be called for—less voluminous and less expensive.

The fact that this new edition was to come forth under the editorial oversight of Bishop A. C. Coxe seemed to promise that the successive volumes would be subjected to a thorough re-examination, and edited anew, for which there was much need, especially in the earlier issues. It was also hoped that a fuller and more adequate apparatus of introduc-

tions, notes, and excursuses than were found in the Edinburgh edition would be provided, for these are very much needed. These expectations have, however, been but partially fulfilled in this the first issue. The editor appears to be not altogether insensible of these deficiencies, and yet he gives but faint assurances that the deficiency in this case will not be continued and perpetuated. Such a publication must answer for a generation, and it is therefore very desirable that it shall answer to all the reasonable demands of the public, otherwise there will scarcely be a sufficient reason why it should be made. We will hope, however, that the volumes that shall follow will more adequately answer to these requirements.

The mechanical execution is decidedly good. The text is large and clear, and though three volumes of Clarke's edition are here put into one, it is here quite as readable as there, with a corresponding "easement" in the price. We shall look for the further issues with a lively interest, hoping also that the learned editor will give to the series all needed scholarly oversight and thorough elucidation.

A Popular Manual of English Literature. Containing Outlines of the Literature of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United States of America, with Historical, Scientific, and Art Notes. By MAUDE GILLETTE PHILLIPS. In two volumes. 12mo. Pp. 581, 569. New York: Harper & Brothers.

We have to notice and characterize the work whose title is above given with no other knowledge of its character and authorship than the books themselves afford. The first part of the author's name seems to indicate that it is the work of a woman—for though women sometimes assume masculine pseudonyms, the reverse process does not seem to be in favor; and the preface is dated "Springfield, Mass." Some features of the volumes suggest the suspicion that the writer is, or has been, a practical educator, and its make-up seems to be adapted for use as a text-book for study and recitations. As the number of pages may indicate, the work is quite comprehensive, though still some very important things are touched upon but lightly, and many readers will think, in respect to some of their favorite subjects, altogether insufficiently. But a broader view will make it evident that the matter to be dealt with has been pretty fairly distributed, and each subject or author has been allotted about a fair proportion of the available space. As to its size, the work holds a midway place between the school manuals commonly in use and the larger and more exhaustive treatises which propose to handle the subject more fully and adequately. The writer's style is well suited to the evident design of the work. It is clear and concise, rather than ornate and diffuse. The arrangement of the matter seems to be at times a little arbitrary and unphilosophical; but perhaps any other plan would have appeared no better. As a whole the work is well made up, and will prove acceptable to learners, whether in schools or as private readers, and it will answer about equally well for any one of its three designated designs—to serve as a school manual, a guide to the general reader, or a book of reference.

A chart or schedule of a single page gives the author's plan of the work. The whole period, from the somewhat uncertain Anglo-Saxon age to the present, is divided into ten "ages"—the Anglo-Saxon, A. D. 450–1350; age of Chaucer (and Wiclif), 1350–1400; Dark Age, 1400–1558; Elizabethan age, 1558–1649; Puritan age, 1649–1660 (brief, but graced with some mighty names); age of Dryden and the Restoration, 1660–1700 (a day of comparatively small things); classical age of Pope, Addison, and Swift, 1700–1745 (brilliant, but artificial); Johnsonian age, 1745–1784 (when literature became a profession); age of Revolution, 1784–1837 (rather of Dissolution); Victorian age, 1837 and downward. Perhaps this arrangement is as good as any other; but the divisions are not always along the lines of natural cleavage. The old Latin adage, *Dividere non frangere*, is not always obeyed—perhaps could not be—because the "ages" did not always keep good time.

The method of treating the subjects or persons taken in hand is thus indicated: A portrait (in some cases), personal appearance, comments (on style, etc.), topical study of life (and times), homes, friends, personal character, works, study of chief writings, character as a writer, literary style, books of reference. Within this somewhat artificial arrangement a large amount of generally valuable matter is set forth. With many of the opinions expressed some readers will not entirely agree, though on the whole they seem to be fair and judicious, moderately appreciative, and usually (not always) correct. Some of the marginal annotations are interesting and useful, and the brief notices of the contemporary literature of other European nations will aid in forming a conception of the whole subject. The treatment of American subjects is necessarily too brief to be of much value. The work is worthy of commendation, as it is quite as good, if not, indeed, somewhat better, than any other covering the same field of inquiry. And the field is one that every one should traverse.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts. Being Extracts Covering a Comprehensive Circle of Religions and Allied Topics. Gathered from the Best Available Sources of All Ages and All Schools of Thought, with Suggestive and Seminal Headings, and Homiletical and Illuminated Frame-work. The Whole arranged upon a Scientific Basis. With Classifying and Thought-Multiplying Lists, Composition Tables, and Elaborate Indices, Alphabetical, Topical, Textual, and Scriptural. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M.A., Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., Rev. Charles Neil, M. A. Three volumes, royal octavo, pp. 539, 501, 520. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Since no one can read every thing, even in his own specialty, and yet it is often desirable to know something of many writers, to make selections, by way of excluding, as well as including, becomes a necessity, and the friend who tells you in advance what to choose renders a valuable service. In these three volumes we have gleanings, made by competent hands, from thousands of volumes—works of the Church Fathers, and later Church literature, biographical, scientific, classical, and philosophical, from university lectures and modern reviews—collated and thoroughly edited and

presented in brief and suggestive paragraphs. In its notice of the first volume, "The Scotsman" (Edinburgh) said, and the completed work justifies its estimate and anticipations:

> Under the title "Thirty Thousand Thoughts," we have the first volume of a work which, if the design of the compilers be carried out in its integrity, will be at once the largest, the most comprehensive, and the most scientifically arranged epitome of ideas on theology, scriptural and ecclesiastical history, and Christian ethics to be found in our language. With regard to the method of classification and arrangement adopted, it has the merit of comprehensiveness and logical sequence: and when once mastered it will give the student access to any point to which he may have occasion to refer. It is not easy to perceive how the systematization could be more thorough.

The Hallam Succession. A Tale of Methodist Life in Two Countries. By AMELIA E. BARR. 12mo, pp. 310. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Incidents of Methodist life have been recognized as good materials to weave into "Tales;" witness among others "Adam Bede," "Beulah," and "Katy Trevelyan." Miss Barr is a recognized and valued producer of this kind of wares, and in this case her genius and her tastes work together, for she was "to the manor born" (and bred), and by long and successful practice she has become expert in constructing her plots and filling up their panels. "The Hallam Succession" will both please and profit.

Boots and Saddles; or, Life in Dakota with General Custer. By ELIZABETH B. CUSTER. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The name of Custer has come to be seen in a halo of mingled romance and sadness. He was a model frontiersman, possessing in an unusual degree the qualities that are especially admired in his class, and to these qualities was given a peculiarly fascinating interest by the circumstances of his death. His wife was his constant attendant in much of his life on the frontiers and among the Indians, and in her military experience she won a reputation of her own for decided cleverness without sacrificing her proper position as a lady and a wife. That she is no ordinary woman is proved by the book now before us, in which she attempts, and succeeds in all she attempts, to delineate the strange scenes among which she lived, and especially those that would come under the observation of the wife of an officer living in garrisons and camps of the cavalrymen, beyond the farthest limits of civilization. The narrative is lively, and often piquant with scenes and adventures, and incidentally it brings out not a little valuable information.

Home Studies in Nature. By MARY TREAT, Author of "Chapters on Ants," etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Harper & Brothers.

There is an especially pleasant fascination in the study of nature in its most ordinary aspects, and most of all in observations on the habits of living things, though not a few intelligent and cultivated people spend

their lives among these things without knowing them. The author of this volume has been favorably known by her contributions on her favorite subjects to the magazines, especially "Harper's" and the "Atlantic," and also by one or more volumes. The present volume is largely made up of reprints of these pieces. Its four "Parts" are severally devoted to "Birds," "Insects," "Carnivorous Plants," and "Flowering Plants." It is just such a book as the amateur naturalist will delight in.

The Minor Prophets. With a Commentary, Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the Several Books. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church (Oxford). Vol. I, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonah. 8vo, pp. 427. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The name of Dr. Pusey is duplex in religious literature. First in time he was known as an English Churchman with strong Romanizing tendencies—both ecclesiastically and doctrinally—and the novelties promulgated at Oxford nearly fifty years ago were called, after his name, Puseyism. Later he devoted himself to the exposition of the Old Testament, especially the prophets, and in this work he has displayed both ripe scholarship and excellent judgment. It is not often that the reviser can so heartily adopt the statements of publishers as we do in this case, when they say of it:

1. It is *able, learned,* and *instructive.* The author's Hebrew scholarship and his acquaintance with theological literature, ancient and modern, are brought to bear upon the text in such a manner as to bring out the profoundest meaning in the simplest and most unassuming manner.
2. It is *critical,* in the sense of being discriminating, yet free from mere technical comments. Practical results are presented with unquestioning faith and humble reverence, and with a fearless devotion to the truth, controlled by safe and sound judgment.
3. It is *orthodox* and *conservative* in its tendency, though in no sense influenced by any narrow theological or ecclesiastical bias. Conforming to the mind of the Spirit, the author devoutly seeks the meaning of the Old Testament prophecy in its New Testament fulfillment.

American Political Ideas, Viewed from the Stand-point of Universal History. Three Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in May, 1880, by JOHN FISKE. 12mo, pp. 158. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Under our free institutions there have grown up, side by side, two forms of politics, the "practical," of which nearly all speak disparagingly but many engage in very heartily, and the "speculative," which is cared for only by a very few but which deserves the attention of every American. Professor Fiske's treatment of the subject, though learned and philosophical, is not hard to be understood, while the breadth of the views presented, with their indicated relations to the history and institutions of the country, and their practical bearings on public affairs, commend his utterances to the thoughtful consideration of all who would think and speak intelligently on the subject.

God's Method with Man; or, Sacred Scenes Along the Path to Heaven. By Rev. B. WEED GORHAM. Third thousand. 12mo, pp. 286. Published by the author.

Plain and practical statements of Christian doctrines and privileges.

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Both works of real merit, and well adapted to their purpose.

Anthè. By Mrs. G. W. CHANDLER. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

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